THE IMPACT OF INTER-COMMUNAL VIOLENT CONFLICTS ON KENYA'S NATIONAL SECURITY: THE CASE OF BARAGOI SUB COUNTY (2007-2016)

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this Research project is my original work accomplished through my research, input from my supervisor as well as personal experiences and reflections. To the best of my knowledge, it has not been presented to any other University or College for any kind of an academic award. All the information obtained from other sources has been dully acknowledged.

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SIGNATURE: ……………………………   **DATE…………………………**

APPROVAL

SUPERVISOR

This proposal has been submitted before the panel for defense with my approval as the official University Supervisor.

DR. GEORGE KATETE

SIGNATURE: …………………………   **DATE…………………………**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
IEBC	-	Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission.
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
G.O.K	-	Government of Kenya Union
CEWERU	-	Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit
NSC	-	National Steering Committee
CJPC	-	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
NCIC	-	National Cohesion and Integration Commission

ABSTRACT

This study sought to establish the impact of the inter-communal violent conflicts on Kenya's national security in Baragoi Sub County. The study sought to answer the following questions. To what extent does community conflicts impact on Kenya's National Security, how has the existing inter-community violent conflict in Baragoi area impacted on the lives and properties of the residents of Samburu County? And what security implications does the community conflict in Baragoi area have on Kenya's ability to protect the lives of her citizens and their property's? This study was guided by the following objectives, determining the extent to which community conflicts impacts on Kenya's National Security, determining the extent to which the intercommunity violent conflicts has impacted on levels and properties of the communities living in Baragoi area, and assessing the security implications that the existing community conflicts in Baragoi area have on Kenya's ability to protect its citizens and their property. This study was anchored on the theory of protracted social conflict as it was advanced by Edward Azar whereby the theory argued that individual subscribes to their ethnic groups which have group interests. This study found out that tribalism and negative ethnicity, problem of unclear demarcation of boundaries, cattle rustling, negative cultural practices, were the major causes of inter-communal nonviolent conflicts. The impact of these conflicts were both political, social and economic, The study recommends that; the national government should partner with the county government of Samburu and other peace organizations so as to drill more water points in all villages in Baragoi Sub County, secondly, county government of Samburu should create more conservancies in Baragoi area so as to ensure that the morans are positively engaged in protecting the conservancy, thirdly the national government should popularize and strengthen the Nyumba- Kumi initiative in Baragoi area. Fourthly the county government of Samburu County is encouraged to be cautious enough of the diversity of its county and avoid acts that will create a negative perception hence escalation of violence, finally the county government Samburu should sponsor more peace caravans or peace campaigns in Baragoi area where the residents will sensitized on the need to keep peace throughout.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The concept of conflict according to Johan Galtung (1969) refers to the discord between two parties and the dynamic processes in which the structure, attitudes and behaviors are constantly changing and influencing one another. Conflicts can exist in different forms, it can either be inter-state or intrastate, and it can be interpersonal or intrapersonal, intercommunity or intra community (Khadiagala 2010). There are two major views about conflicts that have been advanced by various scholars. Conflicts can either be life affirming or life destroying. The first view of life affirming is that a number of positive reforms can come up as a result of conflict; lasting peace can also emerge out of the just concluded conflict. In other words, conflicts can be a platform for the growth and development of democracy and the observation of the rule of law. As a result of this good governance, observation of human rights as well as public participation in governance can take root in society (Mkutu 2006).On the other hand, conflicts can be can be life destroying. Life destroying in the sense that lives are lost, property destroyed as well as creation of a permanent enmity between communities. This therefore means that since these conflicts are widespread across the global sphere, it has been one of the greatest threats of international peace and security in the modern world (Imobighe2000).

Violent conflicts have been experienced in states such as Northern Ireland Kosovo, Cyprus, Israel- Palestine dispute, the genocide in Rwanda of 1994, the ongoing civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), are all in one way or another caused by community conflicts that live near the borderlines of these states. Border disputes can either be over different nations or ethnic groups (Ogolla 2014). Similarly, Franz (1981), in his analysis of the settlement and migration pattern of the pastoral Fulani in Nigeria and Cameroon argues that

conflicts among the pastoralists groups and their neighbors are on the increase both in frequency and intensity.

The end result of most of these intra-state conflicts in Africa has challenged the sovereignty of the affected states and exposed their fragility to the rest of the world, in certain countries, these community conflicts has led to the secession of states and new states have emerged out of such conflicts, for instance Eritrea became independent of Ethiopia out of the question of border conflict as its genesis, South Sudan succeeded in seceding from the larger Sudan as a result of conflicts between communities as well as border disputes and totally they still have disputed boundaries as states. The same problem is affecting other countries in Africa such as Nigeria over the Biafra war, as well as Somalia over new nations such as Somali-land as well as Punt-Land (Ogolla, 2014). To larger extent the problem of community conflicts has precipitated into a national security issue and has threatened the national security of states as proliferation of small arms and emergence of organized crimes comes up hence heightening insecurity of states, people and property.

The question of community conflicts affecting national security in Kenya is not a new phenomenon. However, various scholars have noted that inter-communal conflicts are common in states that are multi-ethnic and operate with not properly structured systems of governance. States often develop system and policies that guide the function of various Government sectors. The nation's security policy is developed therefore to guide how a country or states is going to secure her territories, citizens and property. To examine the issues of community conflicts impact on Kenya national security, it's important to appreciate various contexts and colonial legacies and its impact on post-independence Kenya boundary conflicts. Kenya national security policy during colonial era was aimed at serving the interest of colonial regime. Security policy that existed then was meant to safeguard the colonial state at the interest of colonial

powers. This study appreciates that most of the current community conflicts over boundaries and resources that form the present day Kenya was a creation of colonial powers that partitioned Africa for their domination. This act of partitioning Africa disregarded the local inhabitants that were organized by kingdoms and structure of administration, this later paved way for Kenya today.

Both the territorial and administrative boundaries that exist today have been a major source of conflicts among the many communities in Kenya. This has to a greater extent threatened the very existence of Kenya's sovereignty and its status as a republic. This is because most of the Kenyan communities are engaged in certain types of disputes with other neighboring communities, be it political, Economic or social cultural. Contested boundary disputes with each other (Nyakundi, 2016). For instance, the Samburu community has had a long standing history of cattle raids that is always done for cultural practices. These cattle raids were meant for the re-stocking, however today the main drivers of these border related disputes by different communities in Samburu County are diminishing natural resources such as water, pasture as well as grazing lands for their livestock. Institutional factors such as political, social and economic causes like land alienation, historical marginalization as well as cultural practices (Nyakundi 2016).

Ogolla (2014) notes that there has been a long running dispute of ownership of land at Kapedo, Suguta and Marti areas of Samburu, these areas are inhabited by the Turkanas, Pokots and Samburu communities of whom each claim ownership of these lands and the resources that exists there. This problem has constantly escalated during the periods of droughts and neighboring counties such as Baringo, West Pokot, Turkana, and Laikipia, their conflicts and enmities have been extended to those other counties to be their battle grounds, this has to a great extent put Kenya's security and stability into question. This is because year in year out there exist ethnic clashes in the country especially in all those five counties. As a result of these

ethnic clashes, so many lives have been lost, property destroyed, investor confidence has also been lost thus discouraging investors from injecting their resources and to a greater extend Kenya's economic development and security and stability has been greatly affected. The year 2012, remain a memorable year as the country witnessed one of the worst fatalities in its history following the massacre of the forty-two police officers in Baragoi area as they tried to stop banditry and cattle rustling activities in that area. Since then the nation has been treated into a bonanza where one community launches attacks on another, the other community retaliates and it's a circus.

It is therefore upon this background that this study seeks to analyze the extent to which these community conflicts impact on Kenya's national security and the Baragoi conflicts in Samburu County will act as the point of reference.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

States are in one way or another supposed to devise survival tactics in what the realist call anarchic international system. 50 years of being a sovereign state Kenya's national security policies should guarantee survival of her citizens and protection of lives and property. However, several years down the line, Kenya has faced a myriad of challenges arising from both inter and intra community conflicts (Mkutu 2006). Max Weber in his conceptualization of the state argues that the state is a system of administration and law which is modified by state and guides the collective actions of the executive staff. Max refers to the state as a system of administration and law, a symbol of collective action meaning whatever the state does is always for the general purpose of the community and not just for a particular group of people, a modern state exercises domination over the community, this means that the state is the ultimate authority within its territory and it enjoys the legitimate monopoly of violence. The state must therefore protect lives and property.

The post-independence Kenya faces a security challenge posed by emergence of conflicts arising from shifta war which was fueled by Somali insurgents whose aim was to annex the North Eastern part of Kenya. The worsening situation was precipitated by intense conflicts aided by proliferation of arms, emergence of terrorism, kidnapping, tribal wars and other transnational crimes fueling crime in the country. The incursions into Kenya by militants become prominent feature threatening Kenya's national security in 2010/2011(Nyakundi 2016).However the author does not tell us anything about the impact of the inter-communal conflicts on Kenya's national security.

Further, Ogolla (2014) notes that trade has encouraged trans-border interactions and in the process organized crime in the form of human trafficking, cattle rustling, drug trafficking cannot be ruled out in many parts of Kenya. He continues to argue that Kenya has suffered and continues suffer from conflicts such as contested boundary conflicts, resource competition conflicts, political conflicts that takes an ethnic angle among others, however he does not show how all these forms of conflicts impacts on Kenya's national security. The nature of these conflicts affects not only one part of the country but many parts as currently referred to as counties (Constitution, 2010) owing to the spillover effect which in turn leads to retaliation. This means that all these authors fail to understand that however much a particular conflict can be centered in one area, it has a direct impact on Kenya's national security as a whole.

Nyakundi (2016) further notes that Within the internal boundaries, conflicts surrounding tribal and resource scarcity have created tensions opening wound of historical clashes, perennial violence associated with political rivalry, cattle rustling, pastoralists conflict and land clashes has been a constant security challenge in the Turkana and Samburu Counties. Boundary disputes according to the author have become a matter of the life and death and threaten to destabilize countries national security fabric but the efficacy of Kenya's national security policy has been challenged and thrown into doubt. Intense conflicts have raised questions of

the implication of this challenge on the Kenya's ability to protect property and safeguard human life since independence.

A number of studies as it can be seen above have dwelt on the subject matter of boundary disputes, cattle rustling and conflicts among the pastoralists groups in Kenya, but very few studies have focused on the subject of how these community conflicts impact on the national security and the stability of Kenya as a sovereign state.

The fact that Kenya's security challenges such as boundary contestation, ethnicity among others are perennial problems, and are on the increase despite several interventions from both national and County Governments forms the basis of the main problem in Baragoi area which is a clear testimony that the state has failed to exercise its authority in its entire territory to deal with conflicts. The study is undertaken to fill the literature gap which clearly shows the relationship between the inter-communal violent conflicts and the national security since no studies have been done in relation to this issue.

It is therefore upon this narrative that this study seeks to investigate the impact of the inter-communal violent conflicts on Kenya's national security.

1.3 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions.

1.3.1 Main Question

i.   To what extend does community conflicts impact on Kenya's national security?

1.3.2 Specific Questions

i.   How has the existing intercommunity conflict in Baragoi area impacted on the lives and property of the residents of Samburu County?

ii.   How effective are the intervention measures taken by the relevant stakeholders in containing the inter-communal violent conflicts in Baragoi area in a bid to enhance Kenya's National Security.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study was guided by the following objectives;

1.4.1 Main Objectives

i. To determine the extent to which community conflicts impacts on Kenya's national security.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

i. To determine the extent to which the inter-community conflicts has impacted on the lives and properties of the communities living in Baragoi area.

ii. To assess the various intervention Measures by different stakeholders in managing the inter-communal violent conflicts in Baragoi area in a bid to enhance Kenya's national security.

1.5 Justification of this Study

This study was justified at two levels, at academic level and at policy level.

At academic level, a lot of studies have focused on cattle rustling activities in Samburu County, while others have dwelt on the subject of competition for the little resources by communities that reside in Samburu County, but very few or none of the studies had focused on the impact of the community conflicts on National security. It is upon this background that that this study sought to dig deeper and generate new knowledge through its findings and recommendations as well as its conclusions, this will fill the knowledge gap as well as form a basis for further discussions and further research. A lot of literature exists on cattle rustling problem and matters to do with ethnic clashes, however very little literature exists on how these community conflicts impact on National security in Kenya. This study greatly expanded the existing knowledge by filling in the existing literature gap on community conflicts and national security in Kenya. It formed a basis for academic debates and further research.

At policy level, The Kenyan Government over the years has attempted to deal with the community conflicts that result from the border disputes, competition over scarce resources, historical differences and all other causes of insecurity in Samburu County for a long time. However, despite all the Government interventions, cases of insecurity, community fights, attacks and counter-attacks by the said communities are on the increase, and this means that either the Government's policies were defective or they were not being fully adhered to in terms of its implementation. This study identified and filled the Government's policy gaps. The findings and recommendations of this study were useful to policy makers as they formulate policies dealing with community conflicts, boundary disputes, competition over scarce resources among others and design best approaches in resolving conflicts of these kinds across the country.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on the Baragoi area of, Samburu County especially at Suguta valley; this was because it is the worst hotspot of inter-ethnic clashes in Samburu County. It is also one of the disputed lands in Baragoi sub-County. This study covered the period between 2007 and 2016 because this was the period when conflicts escalated to unimaginable levels. However, study had limitations which included the high level of insecurity. At some point it was actually difficult to collect data in some parts of the Suguta villages as most of them were hostile and scary, this was mostly attributed by the fact that the researcher was not from the Samburu community. However, this adversity was solved by sampling villages that were close to the town centre and using the area chiefs who were accommodative and very helpful. Also there was a lot of suspicion of every new person in this area by the local residents which was another limiting factor, however, the researcher was able to mitigate this as he had carried all the necessary documents for identification and held briefs with the local administration informing of his presence. Confidentiality with the respondents was key factor during the collection of

data in the area, the researcher had to brief respondents in advance about the research and later on obtain their consent before interviewing them.

1.7 Definition of Key Concepts

National Security: According to Barry Buzan (1991) refers to the capacity that the state has in defending its values against all forms of aggression both internal as well as external. It includes both military as well as non-military actions that ensure state survival as well as protection of state sovereignty as well as territorial integrity. For the purposes of this study, National security would mean the activities of the government in Baragoi area in a bid to contain the inter-communal violent conflicts and ensure that there is peaceful co-existence among the communities living in Baragoi area.

Security: In this research study, is defined as the absence of threat to a human as the referent object. But in his analysis, Buzan defines the term to mean absence of fear, threats and plenty of freedom. The author adds that security is meant to ensure that survival is enhanced. (Barry Buzan1991).For the purposes of this study, security would mean the elimination of war, conflicts and violence in Baragoi area and prevailing of peace, harmony and conducive environment for human settlement in Baragoi area.

Conflict: According to Johan Galtung (1969), it refers to the discord between two parties and the dynamic processes in which the structure, attitudes and behaviors are constantly changing and influencing one another. For the purposes of this study, Conflict will mean the inter-communal structural, attitudes and behavioral differences between the Pokots and the Turkana communities in Baragoi area.

Natural resources: Are sources of wealth that occur in a natural state. In this study, it refers to both the natural as well as the artificial things that exists within a geographical area that is full of demand for the communities living there. These resources are usually scarce and necessary for the survival of human beings. (Jostling, 2009).For the purposes of this study,

Natural resources would mean water, pasture, cattle and all other forms of wealth that exists in Baragoi area.

Inter-communal Violent Conflicts: According to Nyakundi (2016) refers to a state of full scale war between members of two or more ethnic groups that is characterized by violence, use of lethal weapons and the end result is high number of casualties, loss of property as well as increasing cases of insecurity in the affected region. For the purposes of this study, intercommunal violent conflicts refers to that often violent conflict that exists between the Samburu's, Turkanas and the Pokot communities in Baragoi area in Samburu county.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviewed the literature from studies related to this particular study, the literature was reviewed under the themes derived from the study objectives as follows; To determine the extent to which the inter-community conflicts has impacted on the lives and properties of the communities living in Baragoi area and To assess the various intervention measures taken by the relevant stakeholders to resolve the inter-communal violent conflicts in Baragoi area in a bid to enhance Kenya's national security. Further the study discussed theoretical framework used in the study.

2.2 Overview of Conflicts

Conflict according to Khadiagala (2010) is inherent in society. He argues that studies are not meant to eliminate conflict but contain its harmful effects. Society is naturally conflictual because material and social resources are unequally distributed within society and as such inequality is reflected. Human nature has certain intrinsic values for instance. Self-centeredness. There is need to produce a lot of resources for people to share. Human nature is equally problematic where human beings are driven by personal gain. This, therefore, sets in motion a persistent struggle. Conflict would therefore refer to underlying issues in dispute between or among groups. That has distinct differences or opposition of interests or ideas. In short, conflict is understood as confrontation between social groups with clashing interests and incompatible goals. Violent conflicts, when they occur are an indication that institutional capacity is weak or have been compromised to the extent that it can't balance diverse interests in society. Equally, societal conflict is universal in nature and is part of social change whereby societies go through different struggles from time to time (Khadiagala 2010).although the author does not define inter-communal violent conflicts, but his definition and

conceptualization of conflict greatly enriches this study about the conceptualization of the inter-communal violent conflicts.

Conflict management according to Kaimba (2011) refers to the measures that relevant institutions or stakeholders can take in order to contain the negative effects of violence from escalating. He further argues that transformational leadership is where leaders use the authority of the state for the good of the public and not for personal gain. This is because resources are equated with power or public office. Conflicts normally occur as a result of failure to achieve desired goals whereby social groups or individuals become dissatisfied and disenchanted with deep sense of frustration based on marginalization or exclusion from socio-economic and political opportunities. Such feelings may occur due to monopolization of the state or of opportunities which are then transformed to dispense public goods and services to particular individuals. However the author does not mention anything to do with the inter-communal violent conflicts on national security. However the negative effects of conflicts that he explains are necessary in understanding the impact of the inter-communal violent conflicts on National security.

Mkutu(2006) argues that Conflicts normally thrive as living organisms, for instance they begin from a position of disagreement and if such disagreements are not addressed or an avenue created to resolve them, they grow and acquire other dimensions e.g. the easiest catalyst to conflicts include identity, security or communal interest. Identity is what allows a people to observe their situation and explain it by which they are. It creates them versus us so that those who are benefitting or marginalized constitute specific identities. Therefore, the beneficiaries will only feel secure and protect communal interests by supporting the system that favors them. On the other hand, the marginalized groups reinforce their identity on the exclusivity so that they come collectively victims of the system and explain their situation on their identity. Therefore, the common denominator is to capture power or positions of authority that could

help change the situation. These views of the author are relevant in explaining what causes communities to have differences, however he does not give a direct linkage on how these community differences may affect national security.

Gunther (2011) notes that Conflict in society may acquire different perspectives where individuals attach very strong perceptions and even emotional feelings which guide their behavior. These perceptions create a feeling in which individuals take very strong positions and interests to the extent that they are not willing to compromise. Such a combination of factors, worsen societal conflicts. If they are also reinforced by emotional orientations which create fear, sadness, bitterness and extreme anger towards others. Such an outcome influences behavior of individuals. Conflicts have a clear pattern whereby it moves like circle i.e. pre-conflict stage, conflict stage and post-conflict stage. All these stages manifest particular characterization whereby pre-conflict stage reflects emerging misunderstanding, lack of consensus about a particular issue and that individuals begin to take positions of one way or the other regarding what is contested. This stage shows particular interests taking shape and that it is becoming apparent that positions are hardening. Unless these disputes are addressed, the conflict will grow to an active stage where disputants begin to engage each other and may position themselves by acquiring advantageous weapons to support their cause.

Khadiagala (2010) observes that Violence would occur and massive destruction is felt as the competing groups try to outdo each other. Finally, depending on the outcome, the post –conflict stage is where actions are undertaken to normalize the society to where it was before the conflict i.e. it is a reconstruction process that is undertaken with a view of addressing the issues that caused the conflict. Conflicts are widespread in society. All societies experience conflicts from time to time. However, Africa has experienced some of the worst conflicts which are protracted and with heavy human and property loss not to mention displacement of populations and total state collapse. Most conflicts in Africa are characterized by the following attributes;

first they occur within and across state boundaries. Though conflicts may occur in one place, they tend to have regional spill-over effects. Secondly Most of these conflicts immediately acquire political dimensions and they are also driven by boundary contestation, competition for power and resources thirdly they have multiple and inter-connected causes. They are protracted in duration. These conflicts attract parasites that will feed them and benefit from them either by taking advantage of the ensuing disorder to loot or supply arms to the disputant parties, Fourthly These conflicts appear not to have definite starting point. They just erupt at any time and it is difficult to know when they end because chances are high that they will recur. fifth, the conflicts are not fought by professional militaries but largely some kind of militia that engage in surprise attack without warning. They then disappear to their hideouts so that Government militaries are in a dilemma taking into consideration this strategy. Sixth, Conflicts in Africa tend also to recruit young individuals, child soldiers in their rank and file who are extremely violent and engage in atrocities which are not quite normal with warfare where some humanity is shown to women, children and the elderly. They are barbaric in their behavior and their actions live behind serious destruction which takes very long to heal. Seventh, Africa, Governments do not respond effectively to internal conflicts; either that take sides or they react to justify that they are in charge. Such a response does not help much but enable groups to become bold in their attacks. Finally, African conflicts at some point are an expression of failure of the state i.e. the state practices politics of exclusion or sectional politics. (Khadiagala 2010)

Barry Buzan (1991) notes that national security is the ability of the state to defend its values and interests from both internal and external aggression either through military actions or non-military actions to ensure the survival of the state and meet its national objects. However, Buzan focused so much on the issues of external aggression and overlooked on the subject of internal conflicts within the state. For the case of Samburu County, there has been heightened

insecurity which has been fueled by many factors among them contested boundaries, political incitement and inter-clan rivalry (Gardner 1990).

Wall and Callister (1995) observed that a conflict is that situation where parties perceive their interests are being opposed or negatively affected by another party. Brounborg and Udal (2005) notes that Kenya being a multi-ethnic state, people have strong attachments to their ethnic communities, thereby espousing what is fundamentally different. The said ethnic groups are in constant competition with access to, or control over resources hence creating acrimony and divisions among themselves. These two views are directly linked to the first objective of this study which seeks to find out the extent to which the conflicts emanating from contested boundaries have impacted on the lives of the people in Samburu and Turkana County and the Government at large. To a greater extent the boundary disputes and competition over little resources has greatly affected the people of Samburu County in that, lives have been lost, properties destroyed, slowed down development, and hampered the Government provision of basic services as well as scaring away investors (Peace Net Kenya, 2013).

According to Peace Net Kenya March (2013), pastoralist communities in Kenya have borne much of the brunt of internal conflicts and increased levels of insecurity in Kenya. This has led to the launch of considerable efforts that are directed at addressing their concerns. A number of stakeholders such as the Government, Civil Society Organizations, the Church and Community Based Organizations (CBOS), have worked so tiresomely to restore calm and peace in these areas. The Peace Net Kenya (2014) notes that the resource- based conflicts prevalent in arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) areas have completely distorted development and eroded all administration of this vast and rugged countryside. However, the report does not mention anything to do with the issue of contested boundaries as the major source of the said conflicts in ASAL areas.

Hussein 1998 noted that Geography is a significant and fundamental role in shaping the outcomes of human relations in society. He argues that in Africa in the last three decades has witnessed large areas especially Arid and semi-Arid areas(ASAL) being the most vulnerable grounds, this view contradicts with that of Wolf (2006) who noted that it is not relatively easy to determine which conflict is ethnic in Nature and which is boundary related across the globe, therefore the study is in agreement with Wolfs arguments in that whereas Samburu County is a semi-Arid area, and cosmopolitan in Nature, there is no assurance that the ongoing conflicts is purely ethnic in nature as evidence shows that it has something to do with the contested boundaries.

According to the Samburu County data review report (2013), there have been persistent inter-clan conflicts in Baragoi for the past few years due to cattle rustling and boundary conflicts between the Turukanas and Samburu communities. The conflict is between two communities of Ewaso Rongai in Samburu north and Kawa from Turkana. Unknown number of people has been reported dead, and households torched, many people are IDPs with no access to food, water, health and shelter bringing to question the state's ability to protect her citizens and property. Affected areas include a pastoral livelihood zone that includes villages such as Kawop, waso, Marti, Baragoi town, Nachola, Tuum, Bendeera, Ngilal, Maskita, Suyan, and Loyangalen. This has greatly affected Kenya's national security in that the very nerve center of Kenya is being attacked; this is because with the entry of the LAPSETT project and Northern corridor being at the critical stages of their implementation, the said insecurities may hamper the realization of the benefits of these mega investments.

Young and Sing'oei (2011) noted that resource scarcity in many of the East African states has made the minority groups facing major challenges over the control of and access to land and other natural resources, this has introduced new dynamics of conflict in this areas and it has led to disruption of peaceful coexistence of these communities with their neighbors. This view

is shared by Schilling, Opiyo and Scheffran (2012) who examined the motives behind violent conflicts in north western Kenya in terms of cattle rustling and cross boarder conflicts. Their findings acknowledged that hunger and drought impacting on availability and access of resources were critical raiding motives of the Turkanas and the Pokots main motive was to increase their wealth and payment of dowry. These two views are important for this study because they help us to unravel the underlying issues behind these boundary disputes that boundary disputes may just be an excuse but the true motive is pursuit for the scarce resources. Brubaker (2002) argues that ethnic conflicts in most cases are not about boundaries, because groups are socially constructed. He goes further to point out that negative ethnicity is not an attribute but rather a process. This view contradicts with that of Lesorogol (2008) who notes that erosion of traditional governance structures in most ethnic communities has caused a power vacuum. This has made the administrative systems of the ethnic communities to be weak and politicians and power brokers have taken advantage of these vacuum to cause inter-ethnic animosities using excuses such as boundary's and marginalization to pursue their political goals. However, the two writers do not suggest ways in which boundary disputes can be resolved using the inter-ethnic harmony.

The Kenyan New Constitution 2010 introduced the two levels of Governments, the National Government and the County Governments. The County Governments were assigned 14 functions that aimed at improving the quality of lives of citizens on the ground. The demarcation of these boundaries' took the form of restoration of the administrative boundaries' of the 47 districts that existed in Kenya in 1992.the aim of devolution was to ensure that Government services are taken closer to the people. It was assumed that this was the best way of resolving some of Kenya's problems like ethnic animosity; winner takes it all, marginalization and other political disputes. However, despite the enactment of the new constitution boundary disputes are still at play and the new constitution 2010 through

independent boundaries elections(IEBC) commission does not in any way solve this disputes, this is because they are both of political and economic in nature.

It is therefore upon this background that this study seeks to investigate the extent to which these community conflicts in Baragoi have impacted on Kenya's national security.

2.3 Inter-Communal Conflicts in Kenya

2.3.1 Historical Context of the Inter-Communal Violent Conflicts in Kenya

The Republic of Kenya is characterized by multi-ethnicity. This section happened as a result of colonialism which began in 1884 during the scramble and partition of Africa that took place in the Berlin Conference. Africa was sub-divided into various colonies that later on became states. This kind of subdivision of the African continent was done arbitrarily and it didn't take into consideration of the boundaries of the various ethnic communities. The colonialist confined independent ethnic communities into one administrative units and disregarded the unity of the local communities. As a result of this, some communities found themselves transcending the borders of the divisions, districts, provinces and the state. This is the case with border communities currently. The genesis of the inter-communal conflicts in Kenya was during the struggle for independence and the struggle against colonialism where some communities collaborated while others resisted (Mpangala 2004).

A number of scholars have regarded the struggle for independence as a legitimate conflict because its major objective was to liberate local communities form colonial oppression and exploitative form of rule. The local communities could not attain their independence by using peaceful means; instead armed struggle was the only way out. The Mau Mau Liberation struggle was a perfect example in the Kenyan content.

Harowitz (1985) observes that during the struggle for independence in Kenya, almost each ethnic community formed an independent political movement that was to fight for liberation

for instance the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), Ukambani Members Association (UMA), The Luhya Union (LU), The Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), The Mwambas Union front (MUF) and the Taita Hills Association (THA) were formed. Although all these movements hold a similar agenda of fighting for independence and choosing the colonialist, their leaders had an ethnic vision of liberating their respective communities. The political movements or political parties that finally led their countries to attain independence in many African states were not inclusive of all ethnic groups; however, the ethnic differences at that time were not much pronounced.

Oyugi (2000) noted that at independence many states in Africa inherited political, economic and social structures from the colonial Government that were highly under-developed. The scramble for scarce opportunities, resources as well as Government facilities became intense and negative ethnicity was highly used by individuals to attain power, wealth and resources. Since the colonial Government relied on the divide and rule tactics to govern, the independence Governments also adopted this style of rule. To date, political leaders still use their ethnic communities to act as a stepping stone to attain power, wealth and settle their disputes with that perceived enemies.

According to Pitson (2000), he argues that in the aftermath of Kenya's independence, the Kikuyu and the Luo communities obtained power by controlling the dominant political party at that time which was the only legal party. The two communities according to the author shared out political offices to their members while excluding Kenyans from other ethnic communities. However in 1966 when President Jomo Kenyatta differed with his vice president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga together with the assassination of Luo leaders such as Tom Mboya, Argwings Kodhek, among others, the relationship between the two communities has never been the same again.

Azam (1998) notes that the Somali community attempted to organize a systematic violence in Kenya in the 1960s. This is because the community had been inspired by Somali nationalism and they wanted to succeed and make the entire north Eastern parts of Kenya to be enjoined in the Somalia territory. The said community took its arms against the Kenyan Government, however they were subdued, it was known as the Shifta wars as they wanted to shut territories to Somalia, it was the most significant ethnic conflict that took a form of armed struggle in the independent Kenya.

Towards the end of President Jomo Kenyattas rule, there emerged some ethnic nationalism politics whereby some politicians from the Kikuyus communities wanted to change the constitution so as to bar Mr. Daniel ArapMoi, a Kalenjin from ascending to power in case President Jomo Kenyatta died. This kind of politics worsened the tensions among Kenyan ethnic communities, these tensions were mostly latent and not manifest. At the end of it all, Daniel Moi became the president. After ascending to the presidency, president Moi embarked on a mission of consolidating power through systematic ethnic manipulation so as to exclude the largest ethnic communities from his Government (Pitsch 2006).

During the 1982 attempted coup when a section of the Kenya air force members wanted to dethrone Moi from power, although the coup failed, but the Government largely blamed the dominant communities to be masterminds. This made Moi to intensify his exclusionist policies towards the said ethnic communities and its leaders. This made the Kalenjin community to be dominant community in Moi's Government. Although the Kikuyu and Luo communities constitutes a third of Kenya's population, they had only 2 ministers in a cabinet of 25 in the early 1990s, majority of ministers were Kalenjin's.

In the early 1990s, it was a period characterized by the end of cold war era. The western ideals to be entrenched and the UK supported democratic political ideals to be entrenched in Kenyan

politics. This led to multi-partism which resulted in the creation of ethic based parties that wanted to remove Moi and KANU from power. This made Moi to react by turning for support from his Kalenjin community and other sympathetic communities of his Government. This led to ethnic clashes in 1992 elections whereby armed militia groups from Maasai and Kalenjin communities attacked other communities that seemed sympathetic to the opposition. This led to the displacements of many members of the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and Kisii communities (Pistch 2000). The major objective of this clashes was to intimidate the said communities to support KANU and Moi if they intended to stay in the Rift Valley in future. This worsened the inter-communal conflicts in Kenya.

2.4   Inter-Communal Conflicts in Kenya

Oyugi (2006) notes that as much as Kenya is considered as a peaceful and stable country in East and Central Africa region a thorough audit will reveal a serious wave of cross border and internal conflicts. He narrates that Kenyans have a strong attachment in their ethnic communities that have different values that are contradictory, the said communities according to the author compete for the access and control of the scarce resources and existing opportunities hence worsening the levels of acrimony and ethnic divisions. Therefore he concludes that Kenya is a divided country along ethnic, socio-cultural regional political as well as economic lines, the said divisions according to the author are caused by inequitable distribution of resources, and political incitements.

In the advent of multi-partism in Kenya, it brought about a new dimension of conflicts in Kenya. This is because most Kenyan communities were divided along political and ideological lines. This led to the rise of protracted and institutionalized waves of ethnic clashes. This kind of ethnic clashes have been witnessed in 1992, elections. The post-election violence of 2007 was the hallmark of this kind of systematic inter-communal violence which was almost tearing Kenya apart. However the fact remains that although Kenyans appear to be one people, they

have not organically socialized to have a similar Kenyan identity, rather than pay more allegiance to their ethnic communities rather than to their Kenyan nation.

Conflict according to Wall &Callister (1995) is a situation which occurs when one group of individuals develop feelings that they are suffering innocently and unfairly because of oppression from another group of people.in the African continent the negative effects that are accused by conflict has become a concern to Kenyans and the international community.(Brunborg and Urdal 2005).Although Kenya is globally known as a peaceful state, a closer look at Kenya will reveal that all is not well, since ethnic animosity between communities is so rampant and Kenyans identify themselves fast with their ethnic communities before seeing themselves as Kenyans(Peace Net Kenya 2013).Therefore the manifestations of these inter-communal ethnic conflicts is along the lines of tribal clashes, competition over scarce resources. International terrorism as well as political and economic differences between members of the various classes. Therefore it's justifiable to conclude that although Kenya is a peaceful country but deep down it's divided along ethnic and religious lines.

The Peace Net Kenya report of 2013 acknowledged the fact that among all the conflict areas that are found in Kenya. The pastoralist communities are the ones who have been worst hit by the problems of intercommoned violent conflicts. This has prompted the relevant stakeholders such as the national government, county governments, Civil Society Organizations, the NGOs, and CBOs to take a number of intervention actions which are aimed at containing the problem of violence. And conflicts in these regions. This is because in ASAL areas of Kenya, the competition by different ethnic groups on fewer and available resources and opportunities has worsened the conflict situation hence slowing down the process of development.

2.5   Ethnic Conflicts in Rift Valley and Baragoi Area

The Rift Valley area consists of 13 counties in the current Kenyan map. This area is traditionally the home of the Kalenjin community's and its multiple sub-tribes, the Maasais,

Turkanas, Samburu's, Pokots and the Turgens. However other communities such as the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kisii and the Luos are also found in this region though in small pockets. The major conflicts that exist in the entire Rift Valley is about land ownership and local politics where the Kalenjin's feel that other communities took away their land. This has resulted to a number of ethnic clashes in areas such as Nakuru, Molo, Kaplagat, Burnt forest just to mention but a few.

However there exists a different inter-communal conflict between the sub-tribes of the Kalenjin community as well as the pastoral groups that live in the Rift Valley. These differences revolve around scarce resources such as water, pasture, grazing lands, boundaries as well as outdated cultural practices such as banditry and cattle rustling. This has pitted communities against each other, for example author argues that Baragoi area that is inhabited by the members from the Samburu, Turkana and Pokot communities is characterized by violence and insecurities as a result of the issues mentioned.

2.6 The Major Causes and Trends of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya

Oyugi (2000) narrates that the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Kenya are driven by scarcity of power, resources and available opportunities. For instance in the areas that are inhabited by the pastoralist groups. The major drivers of conflict are issues such as scarcity of grazing lands, pasture, water, minerals, boundaries as well as outdated cultures such as banditry and cattle rustling.

The said ethnic conflicts gained prominence towards the end of the cold war era. This is because ethnic communities across the world task advantage of the situation to become violent and lethal. Multi-partism era in Kenya which gave these conflicts a political angle, it became part of the international changes that were being spread across the world. The other trend is that while other forms of conflict were declining in the early 1990s, ethnic conflicts were rising

sharply, they were also re-occurring and take the form of warfare, persists, re-emerge after some times (Orcho 2002).

The said inter-communal conflicts occur in multi-ethnic societies whereby different communities are housed in the administrative unit. Kenya fits in all these descriptions whereby community boundaries as well as administrative boundaries such as counties, districts are created along ethnocentrism. Oyugi (2000) links inter-communal conflicts to politics. This is because these conflicts occur around the electioneering period or after elections. This means that the said conflicts are connected to the body politic of Kenya. This view is reinforced by inter-ethnic violence during the 1992, 1997, 2007 elections. Although most scholars argue that the issue of one's ethnic community is not the major cause of clashes and ethnic violence, but politicization of ethnic differences causes conflicts to occur. Therefore ethnicity does not drive conflicts in Africa but politicians only sue the issue of ethnicity for mobilization purposes as they pursue power, wealth and resources.

2.7   Major Actors in Inter-Communal Conflicts in Kenya

Actors in a conflict refer to the main players or participants that are directly or indirectly involved in a particular conflict. Today the actors in conflict include the victims and the perpetrators of the conflict as well as the collaborators or the masterminds of the said conflict (UNDP 2004). Mwagiru (2004) views actors according to their goals, interests, positions as well as capacities for the case of the conflicts that exists in Baragoi area and other areas dominated by pastoralists, the actors are ethnic communities, politicians, the state, Non-Governmental Organizations, community based organizations, Faith Based Organizations as well as the local communities.

2.7.1 Role of Ethnic Communities

These ethnic communities are the most visible actors in the Inter-communal conflicts. For instance the existence of the Turkana, Pokots and Samburu communities in Baragoi area is a clear testament of how local communities are the main actors in many inter-communal conflict in most cases it's the youth who fight in violence and war areas while the women and the elderly support the war through the provision of logistical support such as sounding an alarm in case of a danger, blessing the young worriers, praying for the fighters (Mwagiru 2003).

2.7.2 Role of Politician and Political Parties

Although politicians are always passive participants, their word is taken seriously by most participants in a conflict. Therefore the role of politicians can either be visible or invisible. Since the multi-partism era became the norm in the Kenyan politics. Politicians organized many rallies to oppose the emergence of multi-party politics. As such some communities that were perceived to be in Government started advocating for majimboism system of Government which was similar to federalism way of governing a Country. This majimboism advocated for ethnic exclusion, zoning and expulsion of non-indigenous individuals from the dominant tribes in the Rift Valley region. Communities in the Rift Valley such as the Maasais, Kalenjin's formed armed groups that attacked and torched houses and properties belonging to non – indigenous communities. All these attacks and mayhem was a result of ethnic incitements by politicians. The politicians of the day usually set up one community against another as they pursue their own political agendas.

2.7.3 The Role of State Agencies

According to the 1933 Montevideo definition of the state, the state must have 5 characteristics one of which is a functional Army, Government and its agencies such as the Police, Prisons, and security agencies. Therefore in any conflict within the territory of the state, the state automatically becomes an actor because it's the only legal body that enjoys the monopoly of

the tools of violence, among the state agencies in Kenya that are the most active is the Provincial Administration, Police, and National Intelligence Service. Their intervention can either stop conflicts or trigger more conflicts. These agencies can trigger conflicts by way of omissions, commissions, negligence of outright favoritism.

2.8   The Main Issues in Inter-Communal Conflicts

Inter-communal conflicts in Kenya can be explained in different ways some of inter-communal conflicts are older than the state since they are historical experiences of the said communities', such types of conflicts are difficult to address because they keep on recurring. However there are two major issues in inter-communal conflicts. They are caused by either predisposing factors or by trigger factors.

2.8.1   Pre-Disposing Issues in the Inter-Communal Conflicts

Oucho (2000) observes that land has been the major cause of inter-communal conflicts in Kenya. He narrates that the subject of land ownership, acquisition and transfer was the main reason as to why people took up arms against the colonialists. During colonialism the author narrates that most Africans were denied the right to own land in the white highlands and many Africans were consigned in the reserves while a majority of Africans were landless or squares. The said laborers used to provide cheap labor to the British farms.

Other predisposing factors that act as underlying issues in most inter-communal conflict are ethnic suspicions, cultural differences, and historical rivalries. These factors are usually exploited by the politicians as they pursue their agendas of obtaining power and wealth accumulation. It is widely believed in Kenya that once an ethnic chieftain acquires power, he favors his ethnic community through skewed appointments to public offices and allocation of economic benefits, the end result of this is ethnic hatred and discrimination, the said leader also offers job opportunities, investment opportunities to his tribesmen. The marginalized groups usually gang up against the dominant groups to fight the said injustices. (Giff 1974). It is the

same feelings of some communities feeling deprived that led Kenya to experience the 2007/2008 Post election violence.

2.7.2   Trigger Factors

Mudida (2009) notes that trigger factors are those immediate reasons that cause violence; they include factors such as rigged elections, drought, and political incitement, differences over resource allocation, political violence, and livestock banditry. Mitchel (1998) observes that most trigger factors in most pastoralist areas include value incompatibilities, unfair distribution of resources, scarcity of natural resource, just to mention but a few. This view is shared by Bare (2009) who argues that the essence of politics is to serve personal and ethnic interests but not logic and pursuit of a common good of the entire society. The principle of merit or rather meritocracy over-ridden by issues such as ethnicity and outright favoritism, this creates frustrations in society which in the long run leads to a violent explosion.

2.9 The Impact of Inter-Communal Conflicts on Kenya's National Security

The concept of security refers to the absence of fear form any threat or threat to violence by a state or an individual person. The origin of security concept emanated in 1648 during the signing in of the treaty of Westphalia, whereby the major goal of the state has survival in the turbulent international system. This means that the state had to mount up a stead military force to defend its territory from any acts of external aggression. Secondly the state had to do its best to achieve its national interest which basically meant to ensure that its citizens are safe and secure from attacks and oppression by the outside forces.

However since 1994, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP Report 1994). It introduced the concept of human security which included seven key areas such as food security, economic security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security as well as political security. Contrary to the traditional forms of security which focused on the survival of the state. Human Security broadened the scope of security to focus on the

individual's state of wellbeing. This means that a human being had to be granted all his rights as well as be given human development.

2.10 The History of Kenya's National Security Policy

The British who happened to have colonized Kenya took over Kenya formerly in the 1920. They used Kenya as a security country which was to help Britain to secure the Nile Waters. They constructed a railway line from Mombasa all the way to Kisumu, Malaba, Busia up to Uganda. The major aim was to secure the source of river Nile up to Egypt where the British were also controlling the Suez Canal for the purposes of controlling trade routes to the Middle East and Europe (Keya 2013). As a result of these, the style of colonialism that's was applied in Kenya was so brutal to the extent that all the features of colonialism had a great influence on Kenya's National Security. Some of these features included land alienation, stereo-typing, ethnic polarization, authoritative administrative structure and skewed economic development that concentrated in some regions and alienated others. These features of colonialism were there to preserve the British colonial interests and not the interests of the people. Before colonialism land was a major factor of production where people could graze their animals, build homesteads, as well as do small scale and subsistence farming.

Ndege (2009) observes that some communities such as the Agikuyu, Mijikenda were agriculturalists while the Maasai, Samburus, Pokots, Turkana were pastoralists, the Luos, Kisiis and Luhyas were mixed farmers who both cultivation of crops and keeping of the livestock. The Ogieks were hunters and gatherers. The author continues to observe that production was majority for subsistence and not for individual accumulation. The kinship system was the basis of land, livestock and labors ownership. Once the British task over these lands, they caused displacements, disruption of the existing production system and a lot of resentment from the Kenyans. Trusted to formation of many oppressive rules that could contain any residence. Some of these security measures included the Kipande system.

When the post-independence Government took over independence, it heavily relied on sessional paper No. 10 of 1965 which was developed by Tom Mboya its applications to Kenya concentrated development programs in agriculturally productive and Mwai Kibaki. This policy was a continuation of the colonial Government policies which were exploitative and marginalized some communities. This sessional paper on African socialism ignored development programs in less agricultural areas. This created high levels of inequality which was majorly located along the pastoralist areas of North rift North & Eastern Kenya parts of the Rift Valley as well as Coast region. This became of security issue because it was creating a huge gap between regions and individual citizens (Ogot 1996).

In the first decade upon which Kenya gained her independence. The biggest threat to National Security was the bitter rivalry that existed between President Jomo Kenyatta and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. The second threat to Kenya's National Security was the ideological differences that existed between KADU and KANU. KADU preferred the Majimbo system of Government while KANU wanted a Central Government. Also the ideological differences were at the individual leader's level.   President Jomo Kenyatta was a capitalist while Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was a communist. These differences used to play out in the open and it caused a sharp division in the Government.

Ethnic polarization and ethnicity as a basis for political parties support mobilization caused a lot of ethnic rivalries between Kikuyus who were pro-Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and KANU against the Luo Community that were pro- Jaramogi Odinga and Kenya Peoples Union (KPU). It's during this time that political assassination of Pio-gama Pinto, who was a closely ally of Odinga, there was also the detention of Biddad Kaggia and Achieng Oneko, the Odinga sympathizers.

In the Moi era, the biggest threat to Kenya's National Security was the clamor for multi-partism and the expansion of the democratic space. This kind of push and pull between the KANU Government and the opposition politicians was sustained until 2002 eventually when KANU Government and Moi were kicked out of power. It should be noted that since the attempted coup de tat of 1982. The Government became repressive in a bid to contain any internal descent.

2.10.1 Domestic Determinants of Kenya's National Security Policy

There is a very big academic contestation of the referent object that is being secured, is it the state or the individual citizens? And if it's the state, what exactly about the state that it's being secured? Is it the territorial integrity or sovereignty issues? As regards the issues of national interests, there is no unanimous agreement on what constitutes national interests, therefore Kenya like any other country experiences the same dilemma as for as conceptualization of national interests. This means that there is a greater risk of Ministry of Interior officials may advocate for partisan individual or sectoral issues at the national level and make them appear to be national interests when actually they are not. However Mwagiru argues that national interests are not things that politicians are used to saying on a daily basis, rather they constitute a process of identifying wide variety of issues, isolating those that are not politicized from those that are politicized and those that need to be securitized. According to Mwagiru, these categorization of issues that threaten the state security become core national interests.

2.10.2 Economic Determinants

Economic security refers to the ability and capacity of accessing resources, finances as well as markets that are necessary in order to sustain the acceptable levels of welfare and state power (Sheehan 2005). Economic security therefore refers to threats that are directed at the economic instruments of power of the state. This is because a strong economy forms a backbone for security while a weak economy is a recipe for insecurity. This means that in order for economic security to be there people standards of living must be good the cost of living must be fair, just

wages, reduction of unemployment eradication of diseases, ensuring low prices of food commodities, as well as fair and manageable interest rates. This means that industrialization must be promoted, economic inequalities being reduced.

2.10.3 Political Determinants

These threats are those that aim at disrupting the governance system of the state. This means that the rights of the state and Government must be respected, at the same time; the Government must guarantee and respect the rule of law whereby both the civil rights, political rights, social rights and economic rights of an individual are highly respected. In order for a political order to be stable and secure, state sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the state must be protected. This means that the state like Kenya and other developing states, issues such as negative ethnicity, criminal gangs, political violence, skewed allocation of resources, marginalization, must all be addressed and permanently sorted out in order to ensure that a state enjoys maximum political security.

2.10.4 Social Determinants

Barry Buzan defines social security as the level of sustainability in which conditions for evolution of traditional patterns of language, culture religion, national identities and customs are practiced and maintained for future generations. This means that the referent object of security is not the state but rather an individual. For instance, in order for Kenya and other developing countries to have maximum social security, issues such as food security, elimination of criminal gangs, fight against drug abuse, elimination of graft and corruption, fight against smuggling in and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, maximization of health security, elimination of contacts among the pastoralist groups, and poverty eradication must be dealt with using objective policies.

2.11 Influence of Structural Violence on National Security

Galtung (1998) defines structural violence as an avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or, to put it in more general terms, the impairment of human life, which lowers the actual degree to which someone is able to meet their needs below that which would otherwise be possible. Unequal accesses to resources, to political power, to education, to health care, or to legal standing, are forms of structural violence. Strengthening the governing capacity of the mediated state helps local communities manage conflicts, but does little to address the underlying sources of conflict afflicting the border area (Duffield, 1997).

According to the medical anthropologist Paul Farmer, structural violence predominantly affects the world's socio-economic well-being of the people. The structure of modern society, divided between the improvised and the affluent, it denies a large percentage of the world's population access to basic needs. He further explains that life choices are structured by racism, sexism, political violence and grinding poverty. It is important to note that the identity basis of violent conflicts has become increasingly explicit over time, with the proportion of all conflicts that are labeled as ethnic 'increasing from 15 per cent in 1953 to nearly 60 per cent by 2005 (Stewart & Brown, 2008). Discriminatory development has led other countries like Southern Sudan, Eritrea and many others in the Balkans into seeking separation-self-determination. There have been intense ethnic conflicts among the Samburu, Turkana, and the Pokot communities. A research done by Schilling et al (2012), shows that among the Turkana the majority of raiders indicated hunger and drought as their primary and secondary motives for engaging in livestock raiding. In Samburu and Pokot, payment of dowry and accumulation of wealth were the strongest motives while the expansion of territory was still given by 25% of the Pokot raiders as a primary motive.

According to a research done by Mkangi (1997), Samburu is also said to be among the ten poorest districts in Kenya in all the development indices. School enrolment rates are far below the national average, majority of the people in the region depend on relief food and are malnourished. Mortality rate is high and so are poverty levels. Water and sanitary services are inaccessible to the majority of the pastoralists. A research gap arises in lack of connecting this structural violence to the reviewed problem of conflict and cattle rustling. According to (KIRA report 2013) the communities mainly depend on livestock as a main source of food. The state of insecurity has led to most of the communities moving the livestock away for fear of attacks. The assessment indicated that due to this most households have suffered food insecurity and are going without food as before, even the young children who depended on milk from the cattle. Income generating activities have stalled for fear of attacks, which the women depended on to acquire some money with which they varied the family diets. The main coping mechanism for the households is change of meal patterns from 3-4 to 1-2 meals per day. This includes the vulnerable groups in the community which include children below five years, pregnant and lactating women, chronically sick, elderly and disabled. (KIRA 2013)

The IDPs in WuasoRongai were feeding on wild fruits Njasi, Lpupo, lordo mixed with blood and honey. (KIRA 2013) People living in Marti trading centre who were not affected by the conflict are experiencing disruptions in food flows to the centre as a result of conflict from other areas and are forced to eat wild fruits like Nilamacha. In Kadokoi feeding for children was not affected since the households moved with their livestock together. (KIRA 2013) The inhabitants of Wuaso Rongai and Suyan villages abandoned their household goods during the forced migration as a result of the conflict. However, Kawop village was vandalized when the owners relocated to Lenkima village for fear of revenge attack. In all the sites visited the community members indicated that they received information on impending attacks through

either word of mouth, satellite phone from a Missionary Priests from Tuum, horn blowing, and Radio handset in Suyan provided by Grevy Zebra Conservation Trust. (KIRA 2013)

A quick look at the infrastructure in the warring communities gives one an impression that these communities are really neglected and makes one wonder whether these communities are part of the one state called Kenya (Peace net Kenya March 2013). It has been known that serving as a civil servant in some of these areas have been considered as a punishment and those serving there have to be paid hardship allowance, more than 40 years after independence. Without infrastructure it is difficult to monitor conflict and it is more difficult to do an emergency response when teams cannot use transport to reach their targets. Fighting poverty in these circumstances becomes difficult because it is difficult to do business, reach people with goods or carry produce to the market. Generally, the costs of trading, agriculture among other things become too high for investors and program sponsors. Without industries, no employment, without employment there is a lot of idling and chances of the youth being either abused by politicians or engaging in conflict are high. Pastoralist have been heard asking other Kenyans, —how is Kenya? When they are from Nairobi to Isiolo or Maralal. Good roads in recent times have tremendously reduced banditry in northern Kenya. And if that is replicated in Baragoi conflict will be resolved. They use jungle law because the nearest court of law is more than 600km. In all the ten (10) sites visited in the Sub-County, high prevalence rate in diarrhea, Malaria, eye and upper respiratory infections were reported by KIRA team (KIRA report 2013).

A Maternity Ward in Tuum has no delivery bed and bedding and lack adequate personnel. In Wuaso Rongai, the dispensary has not been operational for the last two months leading to poor maternal health and child care services. Kawop dispensary is also not operational and needs to be protected from further vandalism. According to Shiundu (2013), the 42 police officers

massacred in the Suguta valley in November were all new recruits with no experience in the battlefield. Most of the police officer taken to these ASAL areas are either new recruits or officers who have done something wrong and as a form of punishment they are dumped in these areas. This is why the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and the Controller of Budget in the new constitution have the responsibility of promoting equality and equity. There is a close link between development and infrastructure; both are identified by MDGs and Vision 2030. In order for conflict to be resolved, the national Government needs to work with the County Government on provision of good infrastructure in the northern Sub County of Samburu.

2.12 Influence of Cattle Rustling on National Security

 In Kenya, cattle rustling have reached unprecedented proportions in the recent past. It has changed in nature, scale and dimension due to a number of factors, including the proliferation of small arms in the region, the commercialization of raiding, high unemployment rate in pastoral areas, frequent droughts and reduced respect for traditional conflict-solving mechanisms (Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism CEWARN, 2005). It is clear that researchers have mostly focused on the economic aspects of cattle rustling creating a gap on the social aspects of it. Some conflicts within and between pastoralist communities, such as raiding and cattle rustling have a long history and have to some extent become an aspect of traditional pastoralist culture (Kaimba, Njehia, & Guliye 2011).Thus, the reference to cattle rustling in the study as a culture. On the one hand, raiding leads to distrust between communities which are prerequisite of conflict (Mwangi, 2006).Though cattle rustling is physical in nature; an aspect like distrust is a psychosocial outcome of the same. Communities use raiding to articulate their hostility toward enemy communities (Easton, 2008). Traditionally, livestock raiding often involved small-scale manageable violence. It also involved theft of the best livestock or replacement of animals lost during periods of droughts

or diseases. Loss of human lives was rare, and when this occurred, compensation in the form of livestock was paid by the raiders to the victims or their families in case of death (Mkutu, 2008). Cattle rustling has had diverse effects, inclusive of these are Injuries related to abuse of small arms, loss of lives and property, displacement of people, rape and defilement, child labour, famine and disease, and increased levels of illiteracy (Kaimba et al 2011).

There has been an ongoing inter-clan conflict in Baragoi for the last two months due to cattle raiding between Turkana and Samburu communities. The conflict is between two communities EwasoRongai in Samburu North and Kawa from Turkana. Unknown number of people reported dead and some households displaced. Many are currently IDPs with no access to food, water, health and shelter (Samburu County data review November 2013). Possible affected areas due to the conflict in Samburu North which is categorized as a pastoral livelihood zone in the County include villages like Kawop , Waso ,Marti ,Baragoi Town ,Nachola ,Tuum ,Bendera ,Ngilai ,Maskita ,Suyan and Loyangaten (Samburu County data review November 2013). An in-depth analysis indicates that Samburu district comes second after Marakwet in terms of the percentages of the population displaced. Cattle rustling in the district have displaced 17% of the district's population or 23,707 people. All these displacements have got roots in cattle rustling. Most of the displaced are Turkana from Baragoi and Nyiro divisions. It is hard to tell the number of the displaced Samburu since most of them take refuge in Manyattas of their relatives unlike the Turkana who move to urban centers. Turkana and Samburu communities inhabit the two divisions (Mkutu, 2006).

2.13 Influence of Communication on National Security

Manuel Castells has argued that what mass media was to industrial society is what socially networked media is to information society. The media is a mode of communication between the elites and the grass-root, making it a fundamental source of power. Traditionally this has been a one-way communication model, where the media serves the purpose of being the arena

of power (Castells 2007, 255). In Baragoi sub County, in all the sites visited the community members indicated that they received information on impending attacks through either word of mouth, satellite phone from a Missionary Priests from Tuum, horn blowing and Radio handset in Suyan provided by Grevy Zebra Conservation Trust (KIRA 2013), this shows that traditional ways of passing information still exists in the this age albeit social media has taken over among the young educated lot. The research into how the media can impact conflict started with studies of propaganda. Propaganda is the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols (Lasswell 1927, 627).

Edward Hermon and Noam Chomsky have advocated the propaganda model. The model argues that media function as central mechanisms of propaganda in the capitalist democracies, 'which perpetrates the power relations of the status quo and undemocratic forces. (Klaehn 2002, 148) Propaganda is, nevertheless, moving to the background as a topic research, perhaps due to the intensification of the 24-hour news cycle. Social networking is a current phenomenon that consists of both web-based communication with Internet users through website (Face book, MySpace, WhatsApp & YouTube) and interaction with others via cellular phones (Drussel 2011). According to Facebook statistics, there were 526 million daily active users on average in March 2012. Further, the 2010 Media Industry Fact Sheet reported that two-thirds of the population over the age of 13 is connected by cell phones. Social networking has become common in today's society, especially among adolescents and young adults, and continues to grow in popularity. These activities occur among people who already know each other personally as well as those who have never met in person. Increased utilization of computers and cell phones to communicate, tasks that have historically required interpersonal skills and face-to face interaction, may be altering the means in which young people attain and practice skills that are either necessary to function in their daily lives or fuel conflicts (Drussel, 2011).

From the early days of mainframe computers to the present, computers have been mostly used for interpersonal communication (Sproull & Kiesler, 1991). In fact in terms of meaning, communication is the most important use of the Internet for adolescents (Greenfield & Yan, 2006; Gross, 2004) and young adult. Regarding conflict resolution, Chung and Asher (1996) and Rose and Asher (1999) have argued that responses to hypothetical situations involving conflict are similar to responses observed during real-life conflict (Johnson, LaVoie, Eggenburg, Mahoney, & Pounds, 2001). The youth of today use technology such as the Internet more than any other method through which to communicate and socialize (Mishna, McLuckie, & Saini, 2009; Kaynay & Yelsma, 2000; Nie & Hillygus, 2002).

Social networking media can be dangerous when it is used to spread hate speech. As Gilboa had noted, without regulation, ethical standards, or professional supervision, any individual posting materials can fabricate events or rewrite them. This is true even in the absence of so called smart phones, with new social networking applications like Facebook zero, which is a free way to use Facebook via text message (SMS). This is particularly true for conflicts in which each side presents its own narrative and grievances. '(Gilboa, 2009). There are two important points to be made here. First, although social network are being used politically and in attempts to reshape power relations, these movements are not originated by the technology, they are simply used to this end. Technology itself is neutral and can be used in innumerable ways. (Bijker et al. 1987) And secondly, like all technology, mediums of social networks are not just tools, but also social constructs. They are used to create meaning, but their meaning is also socially constructed. (Castells 2007, 249) Even ICTs are created with the interests of one group against the interests of another. Technology and society are created together and are mutually constitutive. (Tenhunen 2008, 529) Technologies, therefore, are just an extension of societal norms and divide people into haves and have-nots as any other factor in society. Technology itself can therefore not be a cause of democratization, but only a tool.

It is also important to note that the influence of these movements is not limited to cyber space, but a combination of flows and places. These flows come from a mixture of sources, some are located online, others in the traditional media in addition to face-to-face interaction. As a result, although many movements have global links most of them are grounded in a geographic location like the case of Baragoi sub County. (Castells 2007, 250) Ashley Harmon and Panagiotis Metaxas have identified three factors necessary for the creation of a technologically based social network. These are desire for communication, affordable communication devices and opportunities for instant communication. (Harmon and Metaxas 2010) Considering the social nature of the human animal, the first is almost invariably present. The second is increasingly within reach of even the masses in developing countries. The proliferation of cell phones and other devises and their low price has brought a cell phone to most areas, most notably those without a prior telephone landline. This in turn, thirdly, has resulted in unforeseen openings for instant communication on a global level. Many of these devises also enable Internet access and an entrée to social networking websites.

Empirical data in social work literature, as well as other professional journals, on the effects of school-based conflict resolution have been positive, suggesting that teaching conflict resolution skills to students increase their knowledge of how to resolve conflict using non- violent means (Woody, 2001; Johnson, Johnson, Dudley, Mitchell, & Fredrickson, 1997). This idea should also come in handy and should be applied in the County not only to the student but also to the entire population who live in the County so as to resolve conflict in a non-violent way.

Lack of Communication skills has played a pivotal role in influencing conflict resolution in the area. For the past one year, the elite have embarked on spreading propaganda and hate speech through the internet, especially by use of Facebook and WhatSapp. The most active and used Social Media in the County, by both the old and the young, is the Samburu Education and

Development Fund (SEDF) where the youth and the young adults not only discuss issues but rumors and hate speech as well. Technological side effects may not always be apparent to the individual user and, combined with millions of other users, may have large-scale implications. Therefore, each participant has a dual role as an individual who may be affected by the social environment and as a participant who is interacting with others and co-constructing the same environment (Greenfield & Yan, 2006).

2.13 Influence of Political Ideologies of Local Politicians on National Security

Gardner (1990:1) defines leadership as the process of persuasion or example by which an individual induces a group to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared by the leader and his or her followers although in most cases they use tribal-based politics (McCabe, 2004). How much influence do political leaders have on the likelihood of ethnic civil war? Representatives of the elite manipulation theory argue that leaders incite ethno-nationalism to secure their own hold on power (Snyder 2000, Gagnon 2004). "The theory of elite manipulation1 (Gagnon 2004, Snyder 2000) places the blame squarely with elites, which for the purpose of this study are defined as any political figures that hold or compete for political office. Although they cannot reasonably be expected to be an exception to the principal-agent problem, it is rational for them to look out for their personal interest (Brubaker 1998) and fear of democratization provides a powerful motive (Snyder & Ballentine 1996).

Gagnon (2004) argues that elites were able to skillfully steer the public discourse away from political change towards ethnic conflict even though ethnicity was initially non-issue for the majority of the population. Informants indicated elite resort to violence to secure their interests. Asymmetric access to modern technologies such as small arms, motorized transportation and long-distance communication also reshape the dynamics of conflict which has significantly increased the magnitude of human fatalities. Wrongly conceived development schemes and

investments implemented without the active participation of local communities results in unclear property rights mechanism thus increasing tensions.

According to the ODI, politics can be a driver of conflict in pastoralist areas. In Kenya, new election constituencies are likely to be created before the polls and ethnically dominant communities stand a better chance of electing a leader from among their own. For example, a new district, Baragoi, has been carved out of Samburu, north of the main town of Maralal. It is mainly occupied by the Samburu and Turkana, who clash from time to time, which could result in the Samburu being marginalized. (USAID 2009). Local leaders have influenced conflict resolution in the area as the leaders themselves both from Samburu County and Turkana County are often seen to be inciting the masses into perpetrating the conflict both at the County level and far in Nairobi.

2.14 Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on the theory of protracted social conflict as advanced by Edward Azar. The choice of this theory was based on the oscillatory nature of Kenya's conflicts under various circumstances and coupled with varied influences both nationally and locally in various periods since independence. Most of Kenya's conflicts just like other young democracies across the world have been determined by a lot of influences from boundary conflicts, resource scarcity, environmental, local political rivalry rather than institutional process based on national interest.

In his theory of Incompatibility of Plural Society, Furnivall and Smith (1997) asserts that in an ethnically plural society inter-communal conflicts are necessitated by the exclusive allegiance to the interests of one's ethnic nationality and cannot be eradicated. Given the influence of this factors on national security matters, communities have exhibited this nature of protracted social conflict ideals which have influenced the area's security in equal measures, hence the choice of Azar's theory of protracted social conflict.

The domestic factors that influence boundary contestation in the region hence creating insecurity in the region since independence involve complex interactions based on constructed relationships that have largely determined the politics, security, economic resource and social existence of the people in the area this supports Azar's theory in this study.

Collier and Hoeffler (2004) have argued that differences in ethnicity is only an excuse to start inter-ethnic conflicts. In ideal setting, diverse communities would always coexist peacefully if economic inequalities are addressed through rational and equitable distribution of resources and the political rivalry addressed.

Azar's theory presents four key issues that must exist in order to cause protracted social conflicts or escalation of the existing conflicts. They include a community being deprived off human needs, bad governance, unresponsive state as well as international connection (Ramsbotham 2005) Azaar argues that a PSC refers to community conflicts that are prolonged and they scramble over access to basic natural resources, security, recognition as well as participation in economic matters. In order for a PSC to succeed, the author explains that the first condition is to have the consent form the community. This means that the concerned community must have feelings of deprivation, must have bitter historical backgrounds with their rival communities, Azar notes that some of these community rivalries especially in Africa dates back to the colonial times, the colonialists ruled Africans using the divide and rule tactics, these differences between communities were never resolved by the post-colonial Governments. Therefore, the rivalries continued to polarize communities against each other and some communities felt superior and dominant of other groups (Ramsbotham 2005).

The author explains that the second condition for the existence of PSC is the question of human needs. This means that once individuals and communities have been deprived off their human needs such as water, pasture, education, food just to mention but a few. It leads to collective

grievances that are taken as community grievances. Azar further concludes that a combination of the political, social, economic as well as socio cultural needs which have been denied to a particular community leads to unending conflicts. Political needs refer to inclusion of the communities in the decision making process and resource allocation, security needs refers to the provision of physical security, access to food, proper adequate health care just to mention but a few. Acceptance needs on the other hand refers to the recognition of the groups identity. The communities have to be empowered and recognized. In otherwords, all the communities in a state should be treated equally before the law and their relationship should be horizontal as opposed to vertical.by doing all these Azar notes that no ethnic community will be dissatisfied and feel frustrated or marginalized in any way, hence avoidance of the PSC.

On the subject of the state role as one of the conditions, Azar observes that the state is the ultimate authority in the land. Therefore, the state which is responsive must be able to address all the challenges that its citizens go through irrespective of their communities. However, conflicts will only emerge when the state pursues priorities that contradict that of the communities. This will be a reflection that there exists bad governance in that particular state, in such a situation only dominant communities will be benefiting from the Government at the expense of other communities who are less dominant. This leads the state to suffer from a crisis of legitimacy.

2.15 Research Hypotheses

This study was guided by the following hypotheses:

Community conflicts have to a greater extent negatively affected Kenya's national security.

Community conflicts have impacted negatively impacted on the lives and properties of the local communities living in Samburu County.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study adopted descriptive research design which involved investigation of population using selected sample to discover and analyze occurrences (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). The design provided a deeper insight of the various dimensions of inter-communal conflicts in Baragoi Sub-County of Samburu County in relation to impacts to inter-communal conflicts on national security. The design helped to generate data from the field with the help of interviews and questionnaires. The research design was clear, real, simple, and applicable for generalization of research findings and it helped to access qualitative data related to the research questions and objectives

3.2 Study Area

Samburu is one of the 47 Counties designated as County Number 25 which boarders Marsabit County to the North East, Isiolo County to the East, Laikipia County to the South, Baringo County to the South West and Turkana County to the North West. The County covers an area of approximately 20,182 square kilometers with an estimated population of 223,947 according to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS 2009 -Census).

According to Kenya integrated Household Budget survey (KIHBS 2009), the County of Samburu is rated among the poorest in Kenya with approximately 75% of its population living below poverty line. An estimated three quarter of the County comprises of arid and semi-arid land which according to the metrological department, the area receives an estimates of between 250-600 mm of rainfall annually (Metrological Report 2013). Threat to national security posed

by Insecurity emanating from inter-communal rivalry, resource scarcity, boundary disputes, cattle rustling and high banditry which continues to disrupt livelihoods of peaceful co-existence within Baragoi sub-County. Poor road network and telecommunication infrastructure remains the greatest challenge to the residents of Samburu County (KIRA 2013).

The new constitution which was promulgated in 2010, ushered in a new era and it changed country's administrative units into counties, therefore Samburu just like other counties is divided administratively into three sub counties namely Samburu Central, East and North each with two administrative divisions (Holtzman, 2004). However, the latter has been experiencing recurrent inter communal conflicts especially from their Neighbours, the Turkana community. Samburu County is bordered by Marsabit County to the North East, Turkana County to the North West, BaringoCounty to the west and Isiolo County to the South East. According to KPHC (2009) the Samburu North sub County covers an area of 7,024.4 square Kms and a density of 9 persons per square kilometre. It has a population of 65,785 persons (Community Health Strategy 2013). Baragoi sub-County is known for bloody conflicts and cattle rustling that have claimed lives of security forces, local inhabitants and loss of livelihoods and properties. Its rocky terrain and impassable roads make access to markets hard, recovery of livestock impossible once they have been driven to Suguta Valley. It is inhabited by the Samburu, comprising of 75 percent of the population, Turkana 20 percent of population and other tribes comprise 5 percent. (KIRA 2013)

3.3 Methods of Data Collection and Instruments

The researcher used triangulation method of data collection, Ogula (2008) posit that, triangulation involves the use of two or more data instruments to collect the necessary data. This is also anchored on trustworthiness of the data (Glesne, 2009). The researcher used both primary and secondary data collection instruments. According to Sproul (1998), a self-

administered questionnaire is the only way to elicit self-report on people's opinion, attitudes, beliefs and values.

Primary data were obtained through self –administered questionnaire with closed and open-ended questions. As much as possible, a 5-point Likert scale was used to investigate the impacts of inter-communal conflicts on the people of Baragoi. The questionnaire included structured and unstructured questions and were administered through drop and pick method to respondents who were peace committee chairpersons, NGO officials, citizens, religious leader and security officials. The closed ended questions enabled the researcher to collect quantitative data while open ended questions enabled the researcher to collect qualitative data. The questionnaires were divided into two sections. The first section dealt with the general information about the respondents, while the second section dealt with impacts of communal conflicts on the people of Baragoi and the implications community conflicts have of Kenya's ability to protect live and property in Baragoi Sub County of Samburu County.

Secondary data was collected by use of desk search techniques from the published reports and other documents. Secondary data included the publication, journals and periodicals. In order to increase the accuracy of the data an in depth interview was conducted with key people like area chief, religious leaders, senior officers in charge, communities leaders for instance the County administrators and community elders. These were attempted at triangulation and are deemed to compliment for the weaknesses of the questionnaire instrument.

3.4 Target Population

In statistics, target population is the specific population about which information is desired. The target population in this study was 100 respondents. 70 of those are men and women members of communities drawn from various clusters in the 8 most affected villages in Baragoi sub County, 10 key informants and 10 peace committee officials, 5 religious and 5 security

officials. The eight villages were selected because these are the most affected lot that frequently experience ethnic conflict in Samburu County. The remaining members of communities were for the other remaining five villages not prone to conflicts majorly because they are situated around security units and others are in the situated furthest hence accessing them for raiding is difficult.

3.5 Sample Size

Sample size was 40 respondents who were interviewed across all the sub-counties chosen and this included 10 respondents distributed among the security officials and religious leaders, 15 include the citizens of the area who are members of communities drawn from various clusters in most affected villages in Baragoi sub County, 5 key informants and 10 peace committee chair persons who were among the NGO officials.

Table 1.1: shows the sample size of the respondents selected from different clusters

Cluster	Sample size
Residents of Baragoi	15
Religious leaders	5
Security officials	5
Key informants	5
Peace committee/NGO officials	5
Total	**40**

3.6 Sample Technique

The researcher employed Purposive sampling since it gives the researcher the power to determine who is of relevance to the study and who is not, this technique ensures that the sample carries the required characteristics for the study (Bell, 1999). The researcher purposively targeted the area chiefs, religious leaders, security officials in charge and the peace

committee chair persons. The area chiefs were purposively targeted because of the vast knowledge of conflict as they form important decisions as locals and as for Religious leaders and NGOs were also purposively selected because of their perceived impartiality on issues relating to conflict.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data collected was cleaned, coded and analyzed under the broad categorization guided by the research objectives and questions. Data from closed ended questions were analyzed using both the descriptive statistics such as tables, pie charts, and bar graphs, mean as well as percentages while qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis which was done in the mode of themes. The justification for the use of this mode of data analysis ids that it assists the researcher in getting a clear data which will be able to adequately explain the link between inter-communal violent conflicts and national security. Qualitative data will be good for an in-depth analysis while quantitative data will be useful in getting the views of the general public Tables were used to summarize data. The data from the field was first analyzed by categorizing the instruments into their homogenous groups, coded and then synthesized to come up with thematic data. The primary data as well as secondary data were categorized and synthesized to come up with integrated thematic issues discussed in different chapters in relation to the study's research objectives. The justification of using these methods of data analysis was due to the fact that some respondents gave similar answers to particular questions. Research objectives were thematically based. Such data analysis methods met the expectations of the research design which is a qualitative research. To harmonize conflicting field data corroboration with published works was done.

Figure 1.Shows a sketch diagram showing the convergent model and how the researcher analyzed qualitative and quantitative data collected from the respondents. In a convergent

design, quantitative data and qualitative data was collected concurrently, analyzed separately and then merged (Creswell 2009).
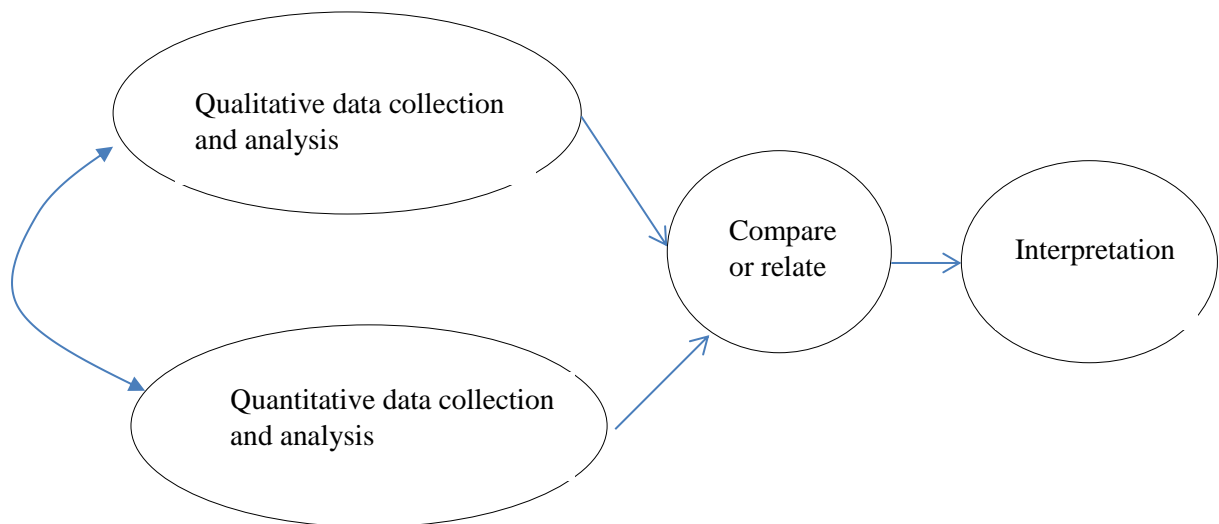
Figure 1.1: Convergent Model

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The major booster on ethical issues was that the researcher was validly covered by research permit authorizing the researcher to undertake the study as shown in the annexure 1. During the study anonymity, privacy and confidentiality of the respondents was key and therefore the researcher assured the respondents of the confidentiality by stating that information given will only be for research purpose.

Adherence to is the issue of consent from the respondents before interviewing them was key during study as well as the researcher had to provide all other means of identification such as ID, introductory letter and school ID.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter of the study dealt with matters to do with data presentation and data analysis as well as the presentation of the study findings. The section greatly dwelled on the impact of the inter-communal conflicts that exists in Baragoi Sub-County. In relation to the explanations that was given in the methodology section of this study, the study relied on the administering of questionnaires to the respondents and conducting interviews on specific respondents using the interview guide. The study also made good use of the informants as well as peace committee officials and the religious leaders serving in the area. The findings drawn from the study were explained in the subsequent sub-sections of this section. The summary of the said findings is going to be presented in form of tables, pie –charts, percentages, narratives as well as frequencies. From the field research conducted between the obtained leading to the following analysis of the findings.

4.2 Data Presentation

4.2.1 The Response Rate

The response rate of this study comprised of 32 respondents out of the 40 respondents who were supposed to participate in this study. Its only 8 individuals who never took part in the study as it was expected

Table 4.1: Response Rate

Table 4.1 shows the specific number of participants who took part in the study either by filling in the questionnaire or by participating in the interviews.

Response	Questionnaire		Face-to-face interviews	
	Respondent	N/ respondent	Respondents	N/ respondent
Frequency	24	6	8	2
Percentage	80%	20%	80%	20%
Total	24	6	2	

4.2.2 The Demographic Characteristics of the Key Respondents

The following tables, and pie-charts indicates the gender of the respondents, category of respondents, age of the respondents, educational levels of the respondents, working experience, birth place of the respondents, number of police officers and reservists in Baragoi Sub-County, No. of police stations and police posts in Baragoi sub-County, levels of training in security matters.

4.2.2.1 Gender Composition

The participants were asked to state their gender inclinations and these were their responses shown on table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Gender Composition

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	26	81.25%
Female	6	18.75%
Total	32	100%

The table above shows that there was no fair representation in terms of gender however this imbalance can be explained by the nature of the Baragoi area which is a very remote area and

very few women are educated, employed or are leaders of their respective communities. However the few whom the study managed to contact were located in religious institutions and market places.

4.2.2.2 Category of the Respondents

The respondents were selected from the following categorizations.

Table 4.3: Category of the Respondents

Category of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Citizens of Baragoi	12	37.5%
Religious leaders	4	12.50%
Security officers	8	25%
Area chiefs	4	12.5%
Peace committee / NGO officials	4	12.5%

4.2.2.3 Age of the Respondents

The respondents who participated in this study had the following age distributions; the age distribution was specified in between the interval of 10.

Table 4.4: Age of the respondents

Age of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
20 -29	8	25%
30-39	8	25%
40-49	10	31.75%
50-59	4	12.5%
Above 60	2	6.25%
	32	100%

The above table shows that majority of the respondents were between the ages of 40-49 which stood at 31-75%. However the majority of the populations were the young adults who were of the ages between 20-29 and 30-39 years which formed a total of 50% of the entire population of the respondents. Very few respondents were old people; this reflects the 4 and 2 respondents between the ages of 50-59 and above 60 years respectively.

4.2.2.4 Educational Level of the Respondents

Table 4.5: Educational Level of the Respondents

Educational level	Frequency	Percentage
Primary	11	34.37%
O-level	7	21.87%
Certificate	4	12.5%
Diploma	6	18.75%
Degree	4	12.5%
Total	32	100%

The table above shows that majority of the respondents had primary school education and O-level education. 11 respondents had primary certificate while 7 had O-level certificates, its only 4 respondents who had a degree onwards while 6 other respondents hold Diplomas. This clearly testifies that majority of the residents in Baragoi area are less educated because of either poor education systems in the County of Samburu or because of the persistent violent outbreaks.

4.2.2.5 Working Experience

This study attempted to establish the number of years that each respondent had worked in Baragoi area.

Figure 4.1: Working Experience
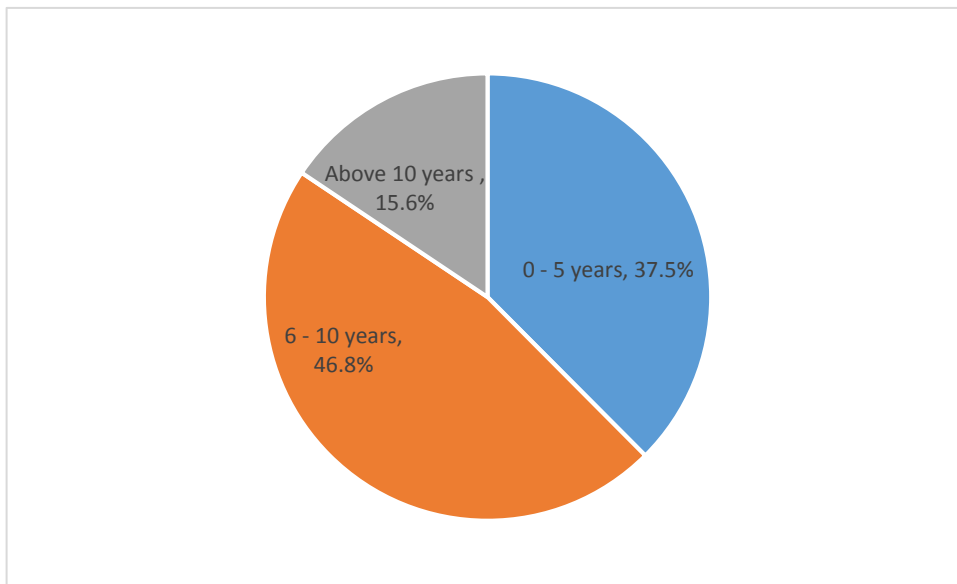
This study revealed that of all the respondents working and living in Baragoi area is as follows, 12 respondents worked between 0 and 5 years, which translated to 37.5%, 15 respondents had worked for between 6-10 years, which translated to 46.8%, while 5 respondents had worked for over 10 years in the area.

4.2.2.6 Places of Birth of the Respondents

This study sought to establish how many of the respondents were born in Baragoi and how many of the respondents were in Baragoi for the purposes of work.

Figure 4.2: Places of Birth of the Respondents
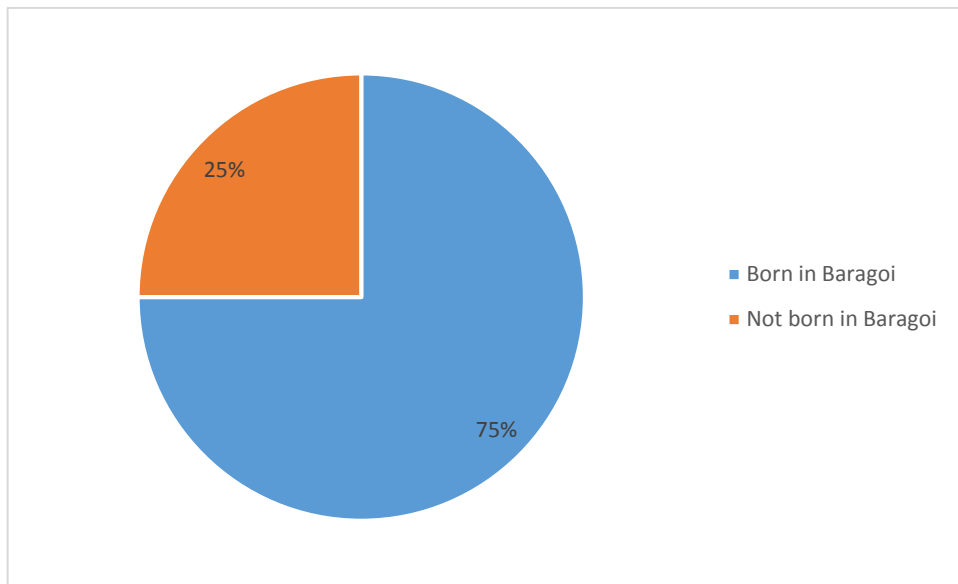
This study established that 75% of the respondents were born in Baragoi area and therefore they experienced conflicts from a firsthand experience. This was of great benefit to the study since it raises the credibility of the study. 25% of the respondents were in Baragoi for the purposes of work.

4.3 The Role of the Government on Conflict Resolution

The pie-chart below presents the results obtained from the field on whether the national Government is doing enough to resolve conflicts in Baragoi area of Samburu County.

Figure 4.3: The Role of the Government on Conflict Resolution
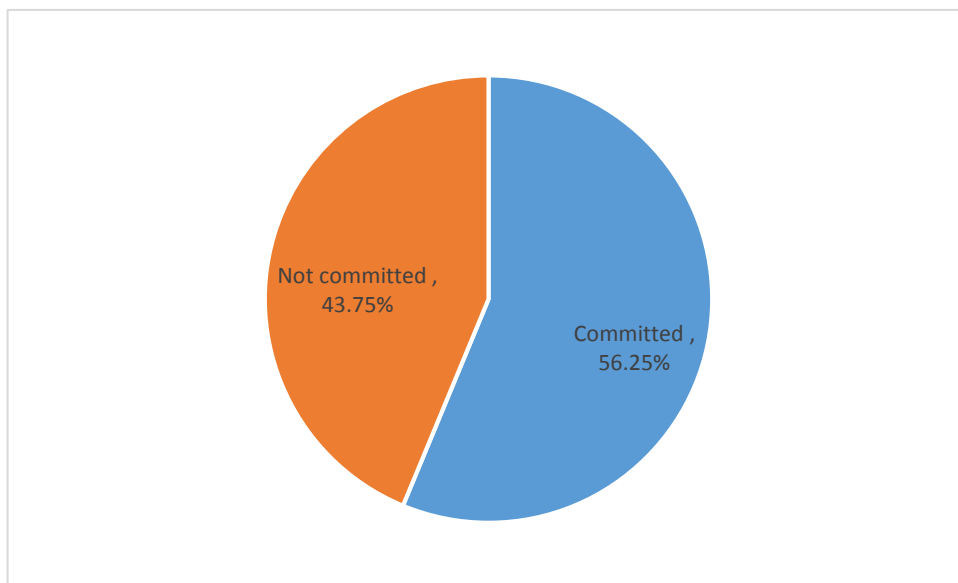
The study found out that 56.25% of the respondents feel that the GoK is committed to resolving conflicts in Baragoi area while 43.75% felt that the GoK was not committed to resolving conflicts in Baragoi area.

4.4 Effectiveness of Peace Initiatives

This study wanted to establish how effective the peace initiatives in the area were in conflict resolution.

Table 4.6: Effectiveness of Peace Initiatives

Effectiveness of people initiative	Frequency	Percentage
Very effective	6	18.75%
Effective	4	12.5%
Fairly effective	12	37.5%
Least effective	10	31.25%

Total	32	100%

From the findings of this study. It was established that majority of the respondents felt that various peace-initiatives employed in the area was either fairly objective or least effective. This is because 12 respondents felt that they were fairly effective which translated to 3.7.5% while 10 respondents felt that they were least effective translating to 31.25% 6 respondents felt they were very effective while 4 respondents felt that they were effective. This was 18.75% and 12.5% respectively.

4.5 Factors Influencing Conflict Resolution

From the study, the respondents listed the following factors to be the major issues that influence conflicts and conflict resolution in Baragoi area. The factors included, structural violence, cattle rustling, communication as a tool, political influence, the Government of Kenya, effectiveness of peace initiatives, natural calamities, tribalism, culture, literacy levels.

4.5.1 Structural Violence

Structural causes of violence are a by-product of incitement of political leaders such as MCAs, MPs, chiefs, clan elders as well as the governors. 60% of the respondents believed that conflicts in Baragoi are spearheaded by politicians. The main reason as to why politicians perpetrate these conflicts according to most respondents is because they gain political mileage out of it hence it sustains them politically. Out of the 32 respondents, 80% felt that structural violence affects conflict resolution efforts, while 20% felt otherwise.

4.5.2 Cattle Rustling

The respondents cited the issue of cattle rustling as the major cause of the persistence of these conflicts, 72% of the 32 respondents argued that cattle rustling have greatly slaved down conflict resolution initiatives that have been put in place in the area, while 28% felt otherwise.

4.5.3 Influence of Communication on Conflict Resolution

Since time immemorial, communication has always been a major tool of influencing society. This is because it passes messages from one group of people to others. In areas affected by conflict, information passed is usually distorted in many cases, this can either work towards the escalation or de-escalation of conflict. For instance in Baragoi area the use of social media has greatly influenced the conflict because most distorted information is passed across with unfelt tend content, exaggerated information particularly on the issue of cattle raids, this has made it difficult for the conflicts to be resolved.

Out of the 32 respondents, 27 felt that the use of social media, and poor communication have been greatly responsible for the persistence of conflicts, the remaining 5 respondents felt otherwise, they argued that although poor communication and social media has been used to perpetuate violence, but their impact is less significance as compared to that of cattle rustling and structural violence.

4.5.4 Political Influence

As it was explained by most of the respondents, the issues of political influence cannot be under-estimated in the conflicts that exist in Baragoi area. This politics according to the respondents revolves around Government policies on sharing of scarce resources, setting up of boundaries, as well as political and economic marginalization which have existed for many years. Out of the 32 respondents, 28 respondents which translate to 87.5% felt that political influence was heavily perpetuating conflicts in Baragoi area while only 4 respondents which translated to 12.5% felt that besides political influence, there were other causes that affect effective conflict resolution mechanisms.

4.6 Findings of the Study

The respondents observed that among the factors that influenced the perpetuation of conflict in Baragoi area included tribalism between the Samburu and Turkanas which has existed for many years. Many people from the Turkana community have always felt marginalized by their Samburu counterparts. This is because in the County Governments, it's the Samburus who are taking the lion's share of most of the resources at the expense of the Turkanas. This therefore makes the angry and hungry Turkanas to practice cattle holds, in order to ensure their survival. This in turn makes the morans from the Samburu community to hit back at the Turkana. The Samburus have also had these feelings that the Turkanas have invaded their lands and they want to out administer them in their own territory.

Secondly the study established that unclear demarcation of boundaries was also a major cause of the persistence of violence since both communities are fighting over land. The existing administrative boundaries are along ethnic lines hence serves to strengthen ethnic divisions. Further and according to the respondents that lack of diversification of the economic activities has also made the conflicts to persist. The respondents felt that part from pastoralism, there is no other economic activity that the residents know. Infarct, the respondents argued that cattle rustling have affected the residents physically, emotionally, psychologically as well as economically. In the physical sense, majority of the residents have amputated limbs, emotionally in the sense that each family has lost a dear one through deaths, psychologically because there is a lot of trauma when an individual loses his livestock through cattle raids, economically because their cattle are stolen by the raiders, or once the bread winner of the house is killed, the family remains in deep economic challenges.

Thirdly, the study has established that the problem of cattle rustling is promoted by the local leaders of both the Samburu and the Turkana communities. This is because once the Turkanas

have raided the livestock from the members of the Samburu communities; the Samburus embark on the mission of recovering their livestock from the enemy. However the Samburus are met with the problems of the terrain on the Turkanas side which is dangerous, hilly, and rocky, unlike that of Samburus which is flat. The two communities have also viewed the presence of KPR in Baragoi area has been more of a curse rather than a blessing to them. This is because the said KPR officers are responsible for colluding with the bandits from both sides so as to ensure that they reap maximum benefits from the said conflicts. Most respondents suggested that the said officers should be retrained on what their role should be and be schooled on observing their code of conduct that guides and governs them from unethical practices.

Fourthly the respondents observed that some cultural practices are also part of the causes of these conflicts, for instance, initiation ceremonies as well as various rites of passage into adult head serves to reward heavily warriors in cattle rustling, this is through early marriages, banditry, songs and dances which serves to praise the worriers hence this encourages a culture of self- defense acquisition of small arms and light weapons.

On the question of the impact of these conflicts on Kenya's national security, the respondents had the following ideas, that the effects are political, social and economic. The political effects according to most respondents are as follows, first and foremost due to conflict, the said communities living in Baragoi area have continued to suffer from marginalization from the Government. This is because the GoK has continued to ignore their plight for development until they stop the conflicts.

At the County level, the County Government that is led by Samburus has continued to sideline the Turkanas and the Pokots as a way of punishing them from their aggression behaviors. This has resulted to the poverty increase among these marginalized groups hence a security concern from a human angle.

At the economic level, the impacts of these conflicts according to most respondents are that it has led to the prevention of investors coming in to put their resources in Baragoi area. Secondly whatever infrastructure that had been put there such as health centers, educational facilities, cattle dips and arbouteurs have all been deserted due to the persistence conflicts, the existing markets are very inactive due to the decrease of a number of traders and buyers. The persistent conflicts have also made the GoK to go slow in some of its mega projects which were designed to be launched in the area. The sum total of all these economic effects is that it has worsened the poverty levels and increased the rates of youth unemployment in the area. This causes human insecurity as people are suffering from hunger, disease, poverty and discrimination. The end result will be the increase of banditry as a way of cushioning themselves from deaths.

At the social level, the persistence of these conflicts has also led to the perpetuation of hatred between members of these three communities. This means that there is always a continuous tension between the members of the said communities. Secondly there is social disintegration of the citizens at the local level whereby there is no cooperation among the residents of Baragoi area. Besides these there have also been the loss of lives, property and livestock due to cattle raids, wars, and tensions as well as cattle raids. This has greatly affected the standard of living of the people, thus psychological wellbeing as well as their emotional stability. The sum total of all these social effects had had a very huge effect on national security from a human angle; this is because the major interest of any sovereign state such as Kenya is to ensure its survival and the wellbeing of its citizens. This means that if part of Kenya's population is engaged in perpetual psychological trauma and emotional destabilization from continuous attacks, then the countries national security is jeopardy.

The other impact of the said conflicts on national security is the issue of proliferation of arms and light weapons by members from all the communities for protection purposes, this makes it even harder for the Government of the day to resolve these conflicts, the smuggled arms and

light weapons are used to launch attacks and being loaned to thugs and bandits to carry out their criminal activities in Samburu County and beyond, this greatly affects the national security of Kenya.

Finally the study established that in the midst of long periods of war and conflicts in an area, unscrupulous traders take advantage to smuggle in contraband goods from the neighboring states. For instance most respondents argued that in Baragoi area, a number of illicit trade takes place, for instance stealing of livestock and transporting them to major towns for slave, drug trafficking, hiding of weapons and firearms, just to mention but a few. This greatly hampers the security of the country from being enhanced.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY, CONCLUSIONS AND THE RECCOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter will give a summary of the findings of the study; it also gives a conclusion and finally recommendations. The summary, conclusion and the recommendations of this study are anchored on the objectives of these studies and the questions which were posed by this very study. This study sought to examine the impact of the inter-communal violent conflicts on national security of Kenya, and the Baragoi Sub-County was taken as the case study. The main objective of this study was to determine the extent to which inter-communal conflicts impacts on Kenyans national security, the specific objectives were to determine the extent to which the inter-communal conflicts has impacted on the lives and properties of the communities living the Baragoi area and assessing the security implications that the existing inter-communal conflicts have on Kenyans national security.

5.1   Summary of the Findings of the Study

This study has noted with a lot of concern that the republic of Kenya experiences many kinds of conflicts. These conflicts according to Juma (2000) can be classified into four major categories that include political conflicts, economic conflicts, social conflicts as well as environmental conflicts. Some of these conflicts such as cattle raids and rustling have a very long history and these communities to a large extent see them as a way of life. Despite the many interventions put in place by the GoK, NGOs, the church and other Kenyans of good will, this study has established that these conflicts have continued to be elusive and various factors have continued to deepen the roots of these conflicts hence widening their influence and scope in Baragoi Sub-County. This study sought to establish the impact of these inter-communal conflicts on Kenya's national security.

5.2 Discussions on the Main Findings of the Study

This particular section will discuss the impact of inter-communal conflicts on Kenya's national security. The study sought to look at the said impact from the two levels, first the impact of these conflicts on the residents of Baragoi Sub-County themselves and secondly the impact of inter-communal conflicts on Kenya's national security. This section will discuss the two levels concurrently under each segment.

5.2.1 The Impact of Structural Violence on National Security

This study purposed to found out the impact of structural violence on Kenya's national security. This study established that structural violence greatly impacts on the security of the residents of Baragoi area and Kenya's national security, poor roads, fewer schools, under –developed health structures, poor living and working conditions of the security officers have all negatively impacted on Kenya's national security. The study has found at that due to the poor state of road networks and the unbearable terrain, it has been very difficult for the security officers to contain these conflicts and stop the illicit business of cattle rustling. Most especially in areas such as Suguta Valley and Olmerok areas. The state of infrastructure in this particular sub-County leaves a lot to be desired. This confirms the argument of Mekhaus (2008) who argued that a marginalized area or community will at some pointe engage in conflict prone activities so as to demand for justice.

The finding also confirmed the arguments of schilling (2012) who found out that majority of the Turkanas cite hunger and persistent drought as well as marginalization as their major reasons for practicing cattle raiding. This makes it hard for national security to be assured in such areas. Therefore in order for the GoK to ensure adequate security in these areas, more schools that offers quality education, improved road networks, increase of the number of health facilities, and construction of dams and more water points in Baragoi area will go a long way

in containing these inter-communal conflicts hence strengthening the state of security in the areas.

5.2.2 The Impact of Cattle Rustling on National Security

This study purposed to establish whether the issue of cattle rustling had any impact on Kenya's national security. The study has since established that cattle rustling are a major factor which negatively impacts on national security. This finding confirms Eaton's arguments in 2008 that local communities use cattle raids as a means of articulating their hostilities towards other communities which they consider their enemies. This finding also to a greater extent agreed with Kamba, Njehia and Guliye (2001) who noted that cattle rustling and animals raids among the pastoralist communities is a historical problem which has now been domesticated as part of pastoralists cultures. In order for national security in this area to be enhanced, the GoK should consider drilling more water points in Baragoi area, construct more police stations and equip the same officers with modern security equipment.

5.2.3 The Impact of Communication on National Security

This study purposed to find out whether there was any link between communication and the national security. The study has since established that there is no negative impact on the use of social media in Baragoi area on national security. This study confirms Bijker's arguments (2007) that social media is only used as a means of shaping power relations, the scarcity problems therefore do not originate from the social media; instead social media is only used as a means of getting to an end. The study also discovered that contrary to the belief that the Samburu residents are far much behind the technology, the majority of the residents have mobile phones, and they are part of the Facebook, what Sapp sites, however the study noted that the morans are not on facebook and the social media, instead they receive information through the word of mouth, satellite phone from a catholic missionary priest from Tuum Parish,

horn blowing, or from a radio handset in Suyan provided by the Grevy Zebra conservationist trust.

5.2.4 The Impact of Local Politics on National Security

This study purposed to find out whether local politics in Baragoi area had some impact on national security. This study has established that local politicians especially the MCAs have a lot of impact on national security. This study confirmed the arguments of Snyder (2000) and Gagnon (2002) who argued that leaders usually incite inter-ethnic violence so as to maintain the status quo. The two scholars relied on the elite theory which argued that the elites in society rely on manipulation in order to advance their ends. Therefore the MCAs with their deeper pockets usually finance the morans, purchase weapons and supply the combatants with food. This causes divisions in society hence influencing national security in a negative way. In such areas community policing cannot take shape, therefore local MCAs and political leaders should be sensitized on the need to refrain from inciting communities against each other instead focus on an all-inclusive development. This will enhance the state of security in this region.

5.2.5 The Impact of Peace-Building Initiatives on National Security

This study wanted to establish if there was a link between peace building initiatives on national security. The various peace building initiatives that exist in Baragoi area includes peace caravans, Barazas, church functions, sports activities, cultural events. This study has since established that the peace initiatives are fairly effective and they influence national security positively. A number of respondents observe that in some places a few moments after the peace caravan passes, there is an outbreak of conflicts. This is because of prejudiced perceptions that peace campaigners have on some communities. This is a big contradiction to Mekhaus arguments (2008) that marginalized communities only promote national security through inter-communal dialogue.

5.2.6 Other Factors Influencing National Security

This study has established that some other factors have also contributed in their impact of the security of the Baragoi area and national security at large. These factors include tribalism, culture, illiteracy and the administrative boundaries.

60% of the respondents argued that negative ethnicity has caused a lot of divisions and internal hate on the basis of ethnic differences. 68% observed that culture has also negatively impacted on the areas security. This is because of cultural practices such as FGM, cattle rustling and raiding of livestock.

The study also found out that the administrative units were not well defined which leads to the persistent fights over boundaries majority of the respondents felt that illiteracy was a key factor in perpetuating these conflicts hence negatively impacting on the areas security.

Surprisingly majority of the respondents felt that the GoK has played a major role in containing these contacts. 78% of the respondents argued that the GoK is fully committed to enhancing security in the areas; this is because since 2014 there has been an increase of security officers, deployment of heavy military weapons and equipment in the area, and the employment of many KPR officers; however they added that more needed to be done.

5.3 Conclusions of the Study

The study wishes to make the following conclusions; first and foremost much has been done in Baragoi area in a bid to contain the escalation of these conflicts so as to enhance security, however more still needs to be done by all the stakeholders so as to completely eliminate conflicts.

Secondly, conflicts in Baragoi area will be eliminated some days in future once there is total participation of all the communities that reside in this area as well as the existence of political will by both the national Government and the County Government in availing the required

resources in resolving the conflicts. In addition to the improvement of the existing infrastructure in the entire County.

Thirdly, cultural practice of cattle rustling has gone through dynamic developments which have made it to be so lethal and sophisticated. The use of guns, available markets for the stolen livestock, as well as politicization of cattle rustling has made it appear to be more of an enterprise. It's a catch 22 situations where people are losing their property to these raids, while others are busy looking for the thieves and both camps are armed. Therefore it becomes hard for the security officers to deal with such problems.

Finally, the study wishes to conclude that the GoK has been committed in enhancing the security of this area through an increment of the number of security officers, deployment of modern security equipment, the conservancies which were an initiative of the County Government have also positively impacted on the local state of security.

5.4 Recommendations

From the finding and the conclusions made by the study. This study seeks to recommend the following;

First and foremost, the national Government should consider partnering with the County Government of Samburu and other peace committees in a view of drilling more water points in all the villages of Baragoi. This will help to reduce the many conflicts that emanate from the scarcity of water during dry times which leads to competition of water for their livestock.

Secondly, The County Government of Samburu should consider creating more conservancies in Baragoi area and pick all the Morans from the affected communities and train them as rangers whose work will be patrolling the vast Baragoi area. With a view of protecting the conservancies, the said rangers will be drawing salaries and wages from the County Government. Through this measure, the challenge of cattle raids and cattle rustling will be heavily contained, and getting back of stolen livestock will be easily. This is because the vast

conservancy will greatly assist the security officers. This will give the cattle rustlers a hard time to move around with the stolen animals. The security officers will find it easy to master the terrain.

Third, the national Government should popularize and encourage the NyumbaKumi initiative in all the villages of Baragoi Sub-County. This will greatly help the security officers in isolating criminals and raiders with the support of the community elders, the said criminals will be apprehended and be brought to justice. The community elders may also consider expelling them from their villages. This will serve to eliminate these conflicts and boost the areas security.

Fourth, the County Government of Samburu is encouraged to be magnanimous enough and be sensitive when distributing resources to different regions and different communities. This will go a long way in ensuring that there is equity and equality with a view of eliminating all possible perceptions of marginalization and being neglected by some communities. The national Government should also come up with youth empowerment programs that are designed specifically to assist the youths in Baragoi sub-County, the County Government on its part should create new markets, and provide a good business environment for attracting investors. This will greatly improve on the security situation of this area.

Fifth, the County Government of Samburu should consider sponsoring more peace campaigns through sports, religious functions, and cultural symposiums in the interior parts of Baragoi. This will go a long way in fostering dialogue, cohesion and co-operation between the Turkanas, Samburus and the Pokots. It will also create a sense of unity in diversity which will be appreciated as strength rather than a limitation. Finally the young people should also be kept busy through sports, education, trade and plantation agriculture that is supported by irrigation football tournaments, dancing competition just to mention but a few. This will not only boost local security but also strengthen national security.

Similarly, this study would also wish to recommend to the national government and the relevant institutions that are in charge of national security to up their game in relation to the response measures that they take in ensuring that there is national security. For instance the security measures that they take in as far as the inter-communal violent conflicts is concerned should be proactive rather than reactive, They should also consider sending in additional police officers and police to help in constant patrols of the area in addition to properly equipping the said security officers with modern tools of work so that they can be able to effectively deal with any rising cases of violence. Other security policies that can be harnessed are strengthening the intelligence networks so that the security officers are able to have prior information to an impending violence or attacks, partnering with the local morans,employing the services of the police reservists as well as seeking the services of the military where the police officers feel an overstretch.

Finally the study would wish to recommend that the national government through the ministry of interior should consider retraining its security officers in a bid to ensure that they understand the modern dynamics of conflict and how best to respond to different kind of conflicts. This is important because inter-communal violent conflicts are very complicated to deal with them and they require great minds in order to adequately eliminate them. These security officers must be trained on how to engage the members of the public from both sides of the warring communities and they should also be trained and properly informed on the need to be neutral and avoid unethical behaviors such as corruption, rape, stealing and extorting members of the public their hard earned cash.

5.5 Areas of Further Research

The issue of inter-communal violent conflicts and national security has received little attention from the researchers. For many years, County Governments and national Government have been relying on rumors and propaganda on the impact of inter-communal conflicts on Kenya's

national security. Therefore there was very little information on these issues in Samburu County. The identification of these impacts is crucial in determining the kind of security measures which needs to be adopted so as to boost Kenya's national security. In view of this, this study suggests further research on the following issues.

i. A similar research should be done in all other counties and constituencies in the entire country that have a similar problem of inter-communal violent conflicts.

ii. Further research should be done ways and means in which the previous marginalized regions of Kenya should be improved so as to bring them at par with other developed areas of Kenya.

iii. Strategies that the GoK needs to adopt in order to improve on its security architecture in arid and semi-arid areas.

iv. Strategies that the GoK needs to adopt in order to promote national cohesion and integration as opposed to negative ethnicity and discrimination.

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

Kindly take some moment to fill out this questionnaire on "**The impact of inter-communal violent conflicts on Kenya's national security: the case of Baragoi sub county (2007-2016)**; all the information you will provide will only be used for the purpose of this study. Do not write your name or sign anywhere on this Questionnaire.

SECTION A: Demographic Information

Please put a tick in the bracket (√) to indicate the answer you choose and where explanation is required, use the space provided below the item. Answer all the questions in order of their appearance.

i) What is your age bracket? 20-29[   ] 30-39[   ] 40-49[   ] 50-59[   ] 60 and above [   ]

ii) What is your gender?   Male (   ) Female (   )

 iii) Educational level: O'level [   ] Primary [   ] Certificate [   ] Diploma [   ] Degree [   ] any other_____

iv) . Working experience: 0-5 years [   ]   6-10 [   ] 10 years and above [   ]

v) Working experience in Samburu County? 0-5 years [ ] 6-10 [ ] 10years and above [   ]

vi) Were you born in Baragoi Sub- County? Yes (   )   No (   )

 vii) Have you ever been to Baragoi villages? Yes (   )   No ( ) If yes, tell us the name of village and   what   was   purpose   of   the   visit?

_____

viii) Did you ever receive any training on national security or conflict maters? Yes [   ]   No [ ] If yes briefly explain from where_____

 ix) From the list below tick the category of you.

 a) Religious leader (   )   d) Community leaders   (   )   b) Police officer   (   )   e)

Area chiefs   (   ) c) Ward administrator   (   )

x) How many security units are present in Baragoi Sub-County?

a) Three   (   )   d) More than six (   )

b) Four   (   )   e) I don't know   (   )   c) Five   (   )

xi)   How many police officers are currently present in Baragoi Sub County?

a) Between 20-50   (   )   c) Between 100-200   (   )

b) Between 50-100 (   )   d) More than 200   (   )

Section B: Factors Iinfluencing National Security and conflicts.

xii) Is the national Government doing enough to resolve conflicts and issues affecting national security in the area?   (a) Yes   (   )   (b) No (   ).

 If No, suggest some of the things they ought to do in resolving this security issues?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………….

 xiii) How many peace initiatives are working in Baragoi Sub County, both Governmental and Non-Governmental?

 a) One   (   )   (b) More than Two   (   )

i) Two   (   )   (d) None   (   )

 ii) What are some of the peace initiatives put in place to resolve conflicts in Samburu County?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………

 iii) Do you think the County Government and the national Government is doing enough to resolve the existing conflicts in Baragoi?

 Yes   (   )   No   (   )

iv) What are some of the impact of contested boundary disputes in Baragoi Sub County?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………..

v) Are the security personnel doing enough to maintain peace in conflicts affected area?

Yes   ( ) No   ( )

 If No, in your opinion what do you think they should do to help the locals?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………….

vi) How do morans and men in remote area pass information to each other in the process of organizing a raid?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………….

vii) How would you rate the effectiveness of peace initiatives in the County?

i) Very effective [   ]

ii) Effective   [   ]

iii) Fairly effective [   ]

iv) Least effective [ ]

Write any other comments on the same

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………….

(viii) Do you think in your opinion politicians are to blame for conflicts in the area? Yes ( )

No ( )

Explain   your

answer..

....

....

2. Using the scale of 1 to 5 below (where 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = not sure 4 = agree, 5 strongly agree), please say how much you agree or disagree with each statement by placing a tick in one of the boxes.

STATEMENT 1 2 3 4 5

A. I feel locals should be involved more in national security programs in Baragoi Sub County☐☐☐☐☐

B. Samburu County has been neglected by the national Government

☐☐☐☐☐

C. Local politicians are responsible for inciting people to engage in conflicts

☐☐☐☐☐

D. I feel boundary disputes is affecting the County in terms of development and attainment of vision 2030

☐☐☐☐☐

E. I feel cattle rustling Conflict related and contested boundary will never end in Baragoi☐☐☐☐☐

F. I feel partisan politics especially among politicians is contributing immensely to contested boundary conflict in Baragoi.

☐☐☐☐☐

 ii) Please discuss through how the following factors impact national security in Baragoi?

i) Partisan politics --

----

ii) Contested boundaries --

----

iii) Cattle rustling --

----

iv) Political ideologies of local leaders --

----

v) Various Peace initiatives ---

----

vi) Scarcity of resources --

----

vii) What is your view on the opinion about the following Governmental and Non-Governmental peace initiatives?

    i)   Disarmament exercise --

                    ----

    ii)   ii)   Peace caravan

----

iii) Role of Non-Governmental organization in the region   -----------------------------------

----

----

iv) Peace committees ---

----

v) Security personnel ---

----

ii) What is your opinion on the role of County Government and IEBC on boundary conflict

resolution--

----

iii) What are your views about the following statements?

i)   Cattle rustling were basically a cultural practice in the past. --------------------------

----

----

ii)   ii) Scarcity of resources has undergone dynamics in terms of its environmental

changes.

----

iii)   iii) The traditional way of cattle rustling has been interfered with by modern ways

of life

----

iv)   Traditional administrative boundaries have been altered by County Government?

----

v)   Thank you for participating

Thank you for participating

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Guiding Questions for the Interviews

1. What are the causes of conflicts?

2. In your view why are these conflicts in this County so persistent?

3. In your view when did the rains started beating up this County?

4. To what extent do you think the contested boundaries are the major causes of these conflicts?

5. How have these border disputes impacted on the lives of Samburu County residents?

6. How has these border disputes affected Kenya's national security?

7. What has the Government as a major stakeholder done to mitigate these border related disputes in this County? What are the successes? What are the failures?

8. What has been the contribution of other stakeholders such as the church? NGOs and other groups in resolving these border related disputes in this County?

9. In your view, what needs to be done in-order to resolve these border related disputes in this County once and for all?

10. In future, how would you describe this County as far as the border related disputes is concerned?

Thank you for participating

APPENDIX 3: A PHYSISCAL MAP OF SAMBURU COUNTY INDICATING BARAGOI AREA.

Source: Author (2018)

APPENDIX 4: INTRODUCTORY LETTER FROM NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/18/78133/22101**

Date: **10th April, 2018**

Arthur Wafula Omuse
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"The impact of inter-communal violent conflicts on Kenya's National Security: The case of Baragoi Sub County (2007-2016),"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Samburu County** for the period ending **9th April, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Samburu County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Samburu County.

The County Director of Education
Samburu County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO9001:2008 Certified

APPENDIX 5: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. ARTHUR WAFULA OMUSE
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 71402-622
Niarobi,has been permitted to conduct
research in *Samburu   County*

on the topic: *THE IMPACT OF*
INTER-COMMUNAL VIOLENT CONFLICTS
ON KENYA'S NATIONAL SECURITY: THE
CASE OF BARAGOI SUB COUNTY
(2007-2016)

for the period ending:
9th April,2019

....
Applicant's
Signature

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/78133/22101
Date Of Issue : 10th April,2018
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

....
& Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation